THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE

From the Year 1382 to the Year 1425

(Volume Four)

Edited, Introduced and Annotated

by

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Translated

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PREFACE

In preparing this fourth volume of the English translation of *The Nikonian Chronicle* for publication, the editor followed the same principles which governed his work on the translation and editing of the previously published Volumes I–III. The Russian text used in this translation was published in the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles (Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei,* further abbreviated *PSRL)* in St. Petersburg in 1862–1904. The period covered in Volume IV of this English critical edition is to be found in Volume XI of *PSRL.*

Although this volume is approximately the same size as the previous ones, the period covered in it is considerably shorter—only forty-two years (1382–1425): The last seven years of the rule of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich ("Donskoi," 1382–1389) and the rule of his son, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich (1389–1425). This is due to the interpolation into rather terse and factual annual data, based on earlier chronicles, of some literary works whose contents are of considerable historical importance and which deal with this era. These works are sometimes tales about battles or about significant political events, or about the lives of saints, bishops and princes. In some places we find short orisons of Russian Metropolitans as well as various documents. The time span of these literary works, especially of the biographical narratives about princes, bishops and saints, very often extends beyond the limits of the annual entries. Such, for instance, is *The Life of St. Sergius of Radonezh,* which covers most of the fourteenth century. Such interpolations of literary works into the historical records of the chronicles can be found in the earliest Russian "*letopis'*," but in this volume they are particularly numerous and extensive.

The text provided in *PSRL* is based on its several *ms.* redactions. Of the greatest importance among them was the original text. called *Obolenskii ms.,* written in the offices of the Metropolitan of all Russia in the 1520's–1530's. Some thirty years later a very exact copy of it, the so-called *Patriarshii ms.,* reproduced this *Obol. ms.* The *Patr. ms.* was used by the editors of *PSRL* because it was better preserved than the *Obol.,* which was damaged and had many missing pages.

Besides this original text contained in *Obol.* and its very exact copy in *Patr.*, the editors of *PSRL* used several other redactions of *The Nikonian Chronicle* in which can be found very important and detailed information about Russian history. In translating *The Nikonian Chronicle* the present editor used the basic text which is common to *Obol. ms.* and *Patr. ms.* up to the year 1520. Working on Volume IV, however, he also used in several cases—which are specifically pointed out in footnotes to the text—more detailed reports of historical events which can be found in *Acad. XVII ms.*, also called *Drevnii letopisets.* The excerpts from this *Acad. XVII ms.* which differ from *Obol.* and *Patr. mss.* were likewise published in *PSRL*, Volume XI, as a parallel text to *Patr.* and *Obol.*

Work on the English translation of this monumental chronicle was made possible primarily thanks to the National Endowment for the Humanities. The American Council of Learned Societies enabled the editor to travel to Moscow and Leningrad, where he could use the library collections and read some manuscripts of *The Nikonian Chronicle*, as well as discuss the problems of Russian chronicle writing with several specialists in Old Russian history and medieval Russian literature. Of particular importance were his discussions in Leningrad with Academician D. S. Likhachev, a leading specialist on Old Russian writings. In Moscow the editor had the privilege of consulting with Dr. B. Kloss, author of an outstanding book on *The Nikonian Chronicle*, and with the late Professor A. A. Zimin, a foremost specialist in the Russian fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The editor's American colleagues, especially Professor Valerie Tumins of the University of California at Davis, and Professor Ralph Fisher of the University of Illinois, who encouraged him in the earliest stages of this work, are particularly gratefully remembered. All other American colleagues who provided him with advice and suggestions, as well as librarians of the Library of Congress, of New York Public Library and the Library of Vanderbilt University, and many others, equally deserve the gratitude of this editor.

Of paramount importance for this editor's work on *The Nikonian Chronicle* were the help, patience, encouragement and constant assistance of his wife, Betty Jean, who carried out the arduous task of producing the many typescripts of the editor's dictated English translation of the some fifteen hundred pages of the original Old Russian text. The editor, himself, however, is of course solely ac-

countable for this English critical translation, for the explanations of frequent complex and obscure passages—of which some were already rendered incomprehensible by the sixteenth-century compilers of the chronicle—and for all of the commentaries contained herein, as well as for all possible omissions or errors.

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LIST OF TITLES OF ENTRIES IN VOLUME FOUR OF *THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE* A.D. 1382–A.D. 1425

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INTRODUCTION

I. RUSSIA AND THE TATARS IN 1382–1425

The last two decades of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth, the last years of the reigns of Dmitrii "Donskoi" (1382–1389) and the rule of his son, Vasilii Dmitrievich (1389–1425), which are covered in this fourth volume of *The Nikonian Chronicle*, continued to be a time of severe trials for Russia. In 1380 during the Battle on the Don, or Kulikovo Prairie, Russian troops under Dmitrii Ivanovich "Donskoi" decisively defeated the armies of the Golden Horde under Khan Mamai. This was Russia's first major victory over the Mongol powers which, since the 1230's, had controlled the destiny of the Russian land.

At that time it seemed that the Russians would be free from the yoke and incursions of these predatory Asian nomads but the effects of the victory were disappointingly of very short duration, and Russia had to remain in some dependence upon the Golden Horde. This dependence was often more formal than actual, but nonetheless it continued for exactly one more century.

The Golden Horde had to its advantage ever new waves of nomads coming from the Asian prairies and deserts and, especially, from Central Asia. In 1380 almost immediately upon the victory on the Don there appeared a new conqueror, Tokhtamysh (1340–1406). Although he was a descendant of the Golden Horde's line of Genghis Khan's dynasty, he made his fortune in Central Asia, and soon after the Battle on the Don, Tokhtamysh appeared on the Volga, where he took over Mamai's Golden Horde. In 1382 he invaded Russia, though not from the south as invaders had usually done in the fourteenth century, but from the east via the Bulgars' state (near present Kazan'), following the earlier tactics of Batu. Tokhtamysh's attack was such a surprise that Grand Prince Dmitrii decided not to challenge him and departed from Moscow for the north in order to gather troops there. Tokhtamysh took Moscow by deceit and thereafter plundered most of eastern Russia.[1]

Tokhtamysh's role in the Golden Horde, however, was of short

1. *Nik.*, under the year 1382. See, also, A. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus'*, Moscow, 1940.

duration because already in 1389 he was attacked by Tamerlane, or Timur-Lenk. The latter began his career as a simple Central Asian raider and then became one of the greatest conquerors of world history. Emerging from Central Asia, in several campaigns he completely defeated Tokhtamysh by 1395, whereupon he moved into Russia.

This time Russia and, particularly, the Grand Principality of Moscow under Dmitrii's heir, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, were prepared to meet the invader on the Oka River because the latter was approaching from the south via the Caucausus. Tamerlane was quite near the bulk of the Russian army but to everyone's astonishment he ordered his commanders to pull back and never again came to Russia. Since his retreat occurred on August 15, 1395, and coincided with the bringing of the Icon of the Theotokos from Vladimir to Moscow, the Russians ascribed Tamerlane's retreat to the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary.[2]

In these years the last major invasion of Moscow by Tatars was undertaken by Edigei ("Idigu," in Tatar). A Golden Horde commander, Edigei rose to power after Tamerlane moved back to Central Asia. When Khan Timur Kutlui[3] died, Edigei became the actual ruler of the Horde. In 1408 he moved his troops against Moscow. Before undertaking his invasion he sent a message to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, informing him that his generals were preparing a campaign against Lithuania and Moscow had nothing to fear from his armies' movements. For this reason Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich was quite unprepared to meet the invader when Edigei by deceit appeared suddenly before Moscow. He did not succeed in storming Moscow, but he devastated most of the Muscovite Russian land and captured a large number of Russians—men, women, and children. Although Edigei did not succeed completely, Muscovy had to resume paying tribute to the Golden Horde.

II. RUSSIA AND LITHUANIA

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries Russian political development was conditioned by the struggle with two powers: Tatars in the east and Lithuania, later the Polish-Lithuanian Com-

2. See *Nik.*, years 1392–1395; and A. Iakubovskii, "Timur," in *Voprosy istorii,* 1946, Nos. 8,9.

3. Kutlui: also spelled Kutlugh.

monwealth, in the west. In 1391 Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich married Sofia, daughter of the brilliant and cunning Vitovt,[4] a Lithuanian prince who at that time was in exile. Vitovt was the son of Keistut and grandson of Gedimin, the second and real founder of the Lithuanian state. The first ruler to bring together the previously disorganized Lithuanian tribes was the thirteenth-century Prince Mindovg, or Mindaugas (1220?–1263). Using weakness of Russia after its conquest by the Tatar Mongols, Mindovg succeeded in annexing several northwestern Russian territories.

After Mindovg's death Lithuania fell apart and only Gedimin (died 1341) with his sons, Olgerd and Keistut, recreated it as a unified and rapidly expanding state. During the fourteenth century they managed to annex a large number of western and southwestern Russian lands, including Kiev, Chernigov, the Seversk land, Podolia, Volynia, Polotsk and part of the Smolensk territory. In this way Russia became split in two, between two mighty powers: the Eastern, under the overlordship of the Tatars of the Golden Horde; and the Western, under Lithuania and the Gediminovich dynasty. In 1386 Olgerd's son, Iagailo, married the Polish Queen Jadwiga, thus creating the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the most powerful state in Europe. Toward the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century it stretched from sea to sea—from the Baltic in the north to the Black Sea in the south. Iagailo was obliged to turn over Lithuania for life to his cousin, Vitovt or Vitautas, who continued Lithuania's expansion toward the east. But the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was still preserved.

In 1399 Vitovt's advance toward the southeast was stopped by Edigei, who inflicted a crushing defeat on Vitovt's armies, comprised of West Russian and some Lithuanian troops, on the Vorskla river, an eastern tributary of the Dnieper. He succeeded, however, in taking Podolia away from the Tatars, as well as the land south of it, thus attaining the Black Sea.

At the time of his daughter Sofia's marriage to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, Vitovt feigned to be a good friend and advisor of the young Muscovite prince. But Vitovt was already an experienced statesman of forty years of age, while his son-in-law, Vasilii Dmitrievich, was only twenty. In the first half of his reign young Vasilii Dmitrievich was no match for the crafty and brilliant Vitovt, who, with his cousin Iagailo, as well, was one of but few medieval

4. Vitovt: in Lithuanian, Vitautas, 1350–1430.

rulers to reach the venerable age of eighty. Only much later Vasilii managed to contain his father-in-law's ambitions. Despite his repeated expressions of friendship, Vitovt obviously paid no heed to the interests of his Muscovite son-in-law. In 1404 Vitovt seized the principality of Smolensk and started intervening in the affairs of Novgorod and Pskov. In the years 1406–1408 he attacked the Muscovite principality three times. Although he did not succeed in defeating his son-in-law or in taking Moscow, he pushed his eastern borders still further east. On several occasions Vitovt indirectly supported the Tatars or used their invasion in order to annex additional Russian lands. In this way the Lithuanian territory expanded over the upper course of the Dnieper and reached the upper Oka River at the city of Mozhaisk.

It must be kept in mind, however, that although in many historical books the word, "Lithuania," is used, in the time of Vitovt and his successors the official name of that country was the "Grand Duchy of the Lithuanians and Russians," in which the Russians formed a considerable majority—at least three-quarters of the population, and in which Russian was the legal and administrative language.

After the marriage of Iagailo to the Polish Queen Jadwiga. Iagailo and Vitovt officially introduced the Roman Catholic faith as the state religion of the Lithuanians. Up to that time the Lithuanians had remained pagan—it was the last pagan state in Europe—while the Russians continued to be Orthodox Christian. Thus Iagailo's and Vitovt's conversion to the Catholic faith resulted in tensions between the ruling dynasty of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its predominantly Russian Orthodox population. If, until the Romanization of Lithuanians, Russians felt quite at home there because the language and administration were largely Russian, after this conversion a certain pressure to become Catholic was exerted upon them. This led to continual defections by Russian princes from Lithuania to Moscow, and despite Vitovt's statesmanship he could not stop them. In order to lessen the influence of the Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, who resided in Moscow, Vitovt also tried continuously to break his Orthodox Russian population from dependence upon Moscow and the Metropolitan of all Russia, who resided there, and to create his own metropolitan see in Lithuania. Finally, Vitovt succeeded in doing this and, thanks to considerable "gifts" to the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarch, he

received from them their blessing for the creation of a separate West Russian metropolitan see, one which was no longer dependent upon Moscow but directly upon Constantinople.

III. INTERNAL RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

From the creation of the principality of Moscow under Daniil Aleksandrovich, son of Aleksandr Nevskii, till the death of Vasilii Dmitrievich the Muscovite dynasty did not experience any internal family crisis. The usual high mortality in the Middle Ages and, particularly, the Black Death of the fourteenth century, took care of any excessive number of possible heirs and resulted in short reigns by the princes, especially in the first part of that century. This rate of mortality and the plague, however, were quite often the cause for the ascendance to the Muscovite throne of very young princes. Dmitrii Donskoi became the ruling prince of Muscovy at the age of nine and died at age thirty-nine. His son and heir, Vasilii Dmitrievich, ascended to the throne of Muscovy at the age of nineteen or twenty and died at the age of fifty-four.

Still, his longer reign allowed him to consolidate his power, to check the ambitions of other northeastern Russian princes and to annex a number of territories, thus expanding the Muscovite principality. In the north Vasilii Dmitrievich took the territories of Ustiug and Vologda away from Novgorod, thus cutting the shortest route of the fur supply to the Novgorodian market. Now a part of these valuable commodities came directly to Moscow, stimulating the economic and financial situation of the grand principality. Vasilii Dmitrievich also augmented his territory in the west, east and south. Fortunately for him, he did not have any strong competitors either in his family or among the other princes. As soon as he died, however, leaving a ten-year old son, new trouble—a kind of Russian version of the Wars of the Roses—again undermined Muscovite power.

IV. DEFECTIONS OF TATAR AND WEST RUSSIAN LORDS TO MOSCOW

Despite the Tatar invasions and raids, Vitovt's expansionism and other difficulties in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, eastern Russia—and especially its Grand Principality of Moscow— still experienced considerable political growth and stability. Muscovy clearly became a rallying political, economic and even cultural center for Eastern Russia. As mentioned before, in accept-

ing the Catholic faith, the Polish-Lithuanian dynasty—first known as Gediminovich and then as the Iagellonian (Jagellonian)—alienated a considerable part of its Russian Orthodox population. Already under Dmitrii Donskoi several West Russian princes of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy defected to Moscow. The same trend continued under Vasilii Dmmitrievich and more West Russian princes from the middle Dnieper and upper Oka river regions left Lithuania in order to serve the Muscovite grand princes.

The extremely unstable situation in the Golden Horde, which developed there in the mid-fourteenth century, likewise led to the ever-growing number of Tatar nobles coming to the Muscovite Grand Principality. As G. Vernadsky pointed out, such a defection was mentioned in documents as early as 1367, some thirteen years before the Battle on the Don.[5] During the reign of Dmitrii Donskoi's son, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, this trend apparently continued and more aristocratic Tatar defectors with their retinues came to Moscow to serve the Grand Prince.[6] These are the cases mentioned in the few remaining scattered documents and some chronicles, but the flow of Tatar lords was becoming larger and larger. Indeed, many Russian aristocratic families had as their ancestors some Tatar nobles who came to Russia in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. The Muscovite chronicle under 1401 even mentions a "Besermen"—that is , a Tatar, previously Moslem, who built a church in Tsibirtsa (location unknown).[7] Leaving the Horde and joining the service of Russia's grand princes, most of these Tatars readily accepted the "Russian faith," sometimes even before they would enter the "Russian service."

Continuous defection to Moscow by the "Lithuanian"—or, more exactly, West Russian—princes and Tatar nobles was the most important sign that Moscow was regarded by them as a land of greater peace than their own previous ones. Thus the Muscovite princes were gaining new liegemen and strengthening their military forces, while Lithuania and the Horde were constantly losing the same.

5. Vernadsky, Vol. III, p. 226.

6. In the year 1391 in *Nik.* See, also, *Musc. Late 15th C.*, Year 1393, p. 220.

7. *Musc. Late 15th C.*, p. 231.

V. CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The renewed vitality of the Eastern Russian lands, including Moscow, was reflected not only in their greater independence from the Horde and the defection to the service of Muscovite princes by Tatars and West Russian nobles from Lithuania, but also in a noticeable development of Russian culture. After more than a century of cultural decline caused by the Tatar-Mongol conquest, there may be observed in Russia and, especially, in the Russian lands east of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a definite indication of the beginning of more vigorous life. This can be seen first in Novgorod and Pskov, which were not destroyed by the Tatar-Mongol invasion; and then also in other parts of central and eastern Russia. The chronicles mention that during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries new monasteries and new churches were built. The old ones were embellished with frescoes, icons, new cupolas, roofs and other architectural features. To a very considerable degree this cultural development was connected with the spread of the monastic movement, which was started by St. Sergius of Radonezh (1319–1392). New monasteries were founded throughout most of northeastern Russia, pushing agriculture and civilization up north beyond the Volga River. These churches and, especially, the monasteries became the centers of new artistic and literary development. To a very considerable extent this Russian cultural renewal arose under the impact of the so-called "Palaeologue Renaissance" in Byzantium as well as in other parts of the Balkans. In frescoes and icons, of paramount importance was the coming to Russia of Theophanes the Greek around 1370. His most famous works were his frescoes painted in the Church of the Transfiguration in Novgorod in 1378, as well as icons, several of which remain preserved.[8] The highest achievement of Russian iconography, though, is represented by Andrei Rublev. It is possible that he learned from Theophanes a wider color range and new compositional devices, but still his style of painting is very different from Theophanes'. While the latter's is impassioned, Rublev's icons—especially, his Trinity—represent tranquility and comtemplation. Already his early works demonstrate artistic maturity. They can be

8. Grabar, I. E., a.o., eds., *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva.* Vol. I, Moscow, 1953, pp. 148 ff.

seen in Zvenigorod. Later he decorated with frescoes the Cathedral of the Annunciation in Moscow (1405) and the Cathedral of the Assumption in Vladimir (1408).

In the field of literature Epiphany the Wise, the writer of the *Life of Saint Sergius* and *The Life of Saint Stephen of Perm*, led the literary upswing. His writings, as well as churches and icons in Novgorod and Pskov, together with the work of Rublev, bear witness not only to Russian piety but also to the new growth of Russian spiritual and artistic life. At the same time we can observe the revival of chronicle-writing. In the years 1406–1409 the first Muscovite chronicle, which was later integrated into the *Troitskaia, Voskresenskaia* and *Nikonovskaia* chronicles, was compiled under the aegis of Metropolitan Cyprian.[9] The oldest preserved Russian chronicles—the *Laurentian* (1377; *PSRL*, Vol. I); the *Hypatian* (early fifteenth century; *PSRL*, Vol. II); and the *Radziwill* (fifteenth century, not yet published)—belong to this era. In the same period of time was also penned the last known but, unfortunately, not preserved copy of *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*.

These chronicles show an interest in early centuries of the Russian past, especially in the traditions of Kiev, Novgorod and Suzdal'. They also show an interest for the idea of a unified Russia and the era of Princes Vladimir, the Christianizer of Russia, and Iaroslav the Wise. Everywhere new life, even new artistic and literary experiments—as in the cases of Epiphany the Wise and Rublev—can be observed, thanks to a large extent to greater political independence and the impact of the Palaelogue Renaissance. The Russian "Darkest" Age, which was brought about by the destruction of the cultural centers by the Tatar-Mongol invasion, was in the process of being overcome and a *sui generis* "Pre-Renaissance," as this movement was aptly called by D. Likhachev, came into being.[10] Likhachev's studies of this period are particularly interesting because they include all aspects of Russian culture and Russian arts of that time.

9. The exact date of the writing of this first Muscovite chronicle is hard to determine but it was written on the initiative of Cyprian and perhaps with his actual participation.

10. Likhachev. D., *Kultura Rusi*, pp. 12–15.

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Baumgarten	Baumgarten, N. de, *Genealogie des branches reignantes en Russie*, in *Or. Chr.*, 1934.
Bréhier	Bréhier, L., *La vie et la mort de Byzance*, Albin Michel, Paris, 1969.
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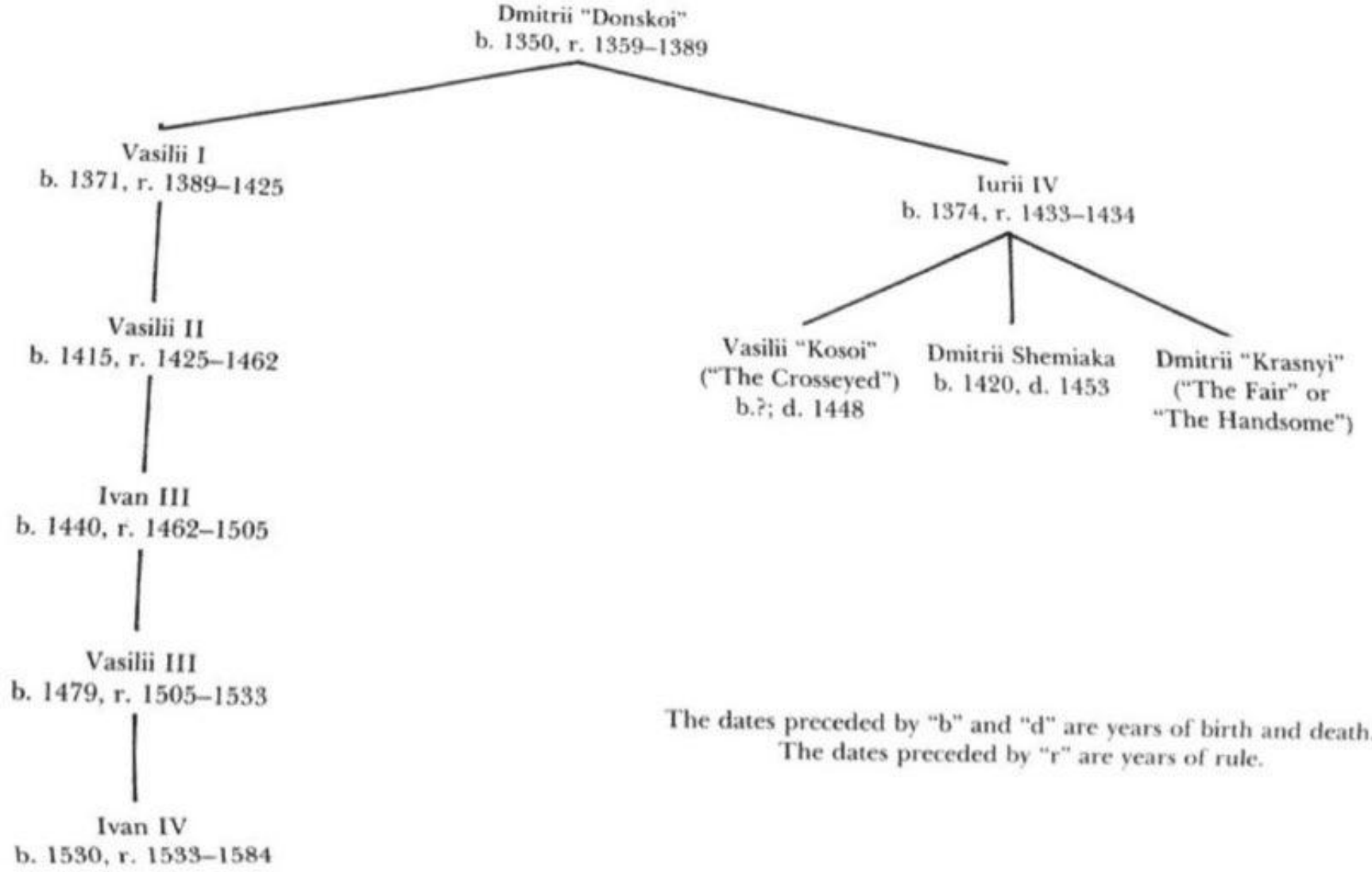
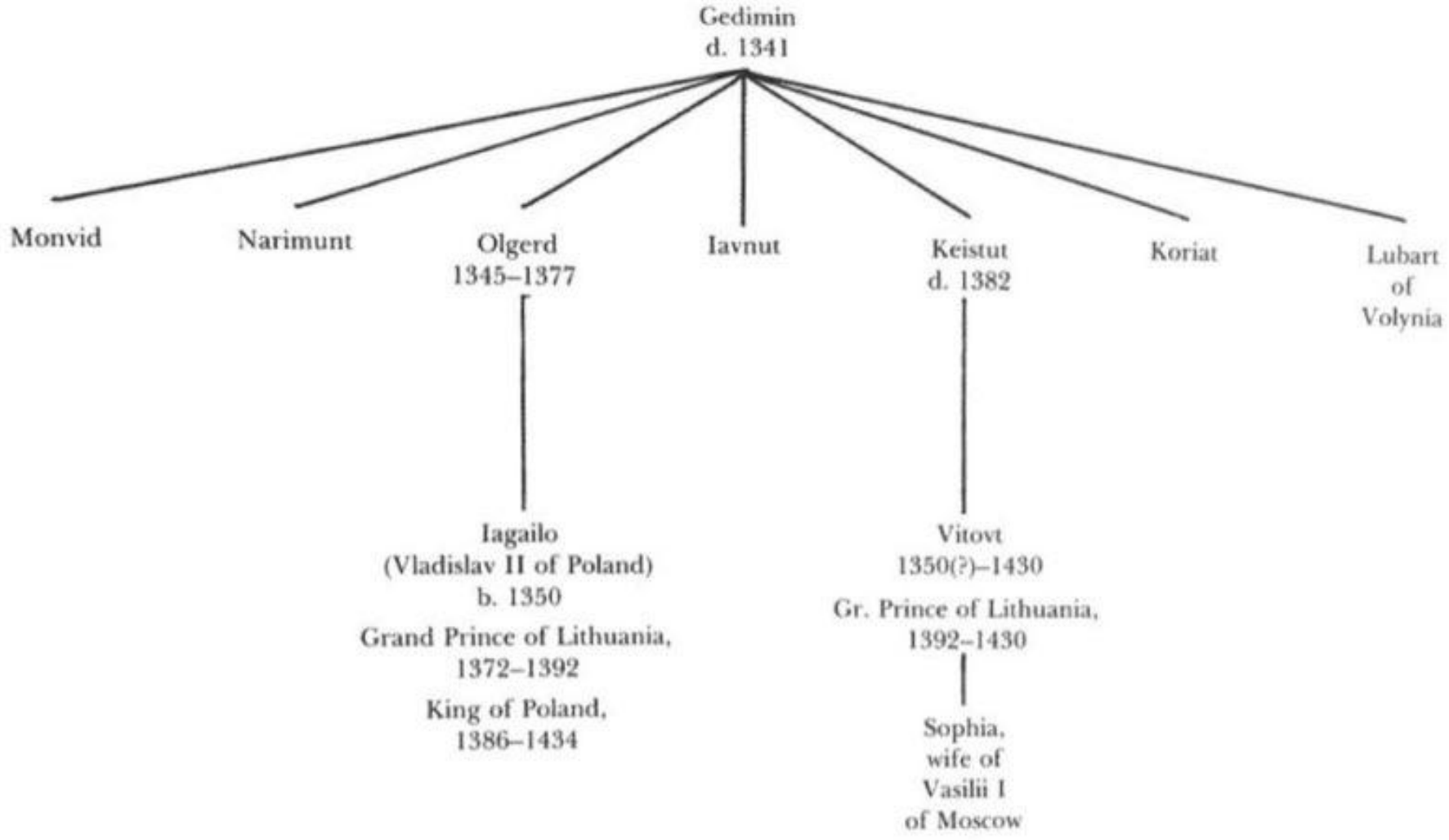
THE HOUSE OF MOSCOW

The Descendants of Dmitrii Ivanovich "Donskoi"



The dates preceded by "b" and "d" are years of birth and death.
The dates preceded by "r" are years of rule.

THE HOUSE OF GEDIMIN OF LITHUANIA



THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE
From the Year 1382 to 1425

[BISHOP DIONYSIUS FIGHTS THE STRIGOLNIKS IN NOVGOROD]

In the year 6890[1382]. Dionysius, Bishop of Suzdal', came from **1382**
Constantinople to Novgorod the Great from His Holiness, the Oecumenical Patriarch Nilus [bringing] the latter's blessing and messages in which again [the Patriarch] wrote about the fees [charged] at ordination. [The Patriarch also] taught about Divine Law in them according to the sacred rules and divine scriptures. [He] did this in order to strengthen them [the Novgorodians] against the temptation and heresy of the Strigolniks. He also ordered Dionysius, Bishop of Suzdal', to teach in his place in the presence of Archbishop Alexis of Novgorod. In Novgorod and Pskov there occurred discord and tempting doubts about the fees which are levied [upon ordination]. "The payment is one thing but fees and taxes during ordination are something else," and he gave them [the Novgorodians] the messages of the Oecumenical Patriarch Nilus, and having taught them sufficiently according to the instruction of the Patriarch, he, Dionysius, Bishop of Suzdal', went from Novgorod and Pskov and came to Suzdal' to his bishopric on the sixth day of the month of January.[1] His bishopric was elevated to the rank of an archbishopric by His Holiness, Patriarch Nilus, and the Oecumenical Patriarch Nilus, together with the entire sacred council, gave him a blessing and commanded him to call himself Archbishop and to conduct himself as such. Thus he became [first] Archbishop of Suzdal', Nizhnii Novgorod and Gorodets. Furthermore, the Oecumenical Patriarch Nilus and his sacred council provided him with holy vestments, with four crosses and with a surplice with arrows. These were the insignia of his high rank because the crosses on the chasuble and arrows of the surplice are symbols of the rank of a Metropolitan. The rank of Metropolitan is that of a bishop in a capital city and of the head of all the dioceses

1. Regarding the Strigolniks and their teachings, see the footnotes at the end of the entry under the year 6883/1375, in Vol. III of *Nik.* The origin of the word, "Strigolnik," is unclear.

1382 under him. This Archbishop Dionysius of Suzdal' also brought with him from Constantinople a piece of wood [of the Cross] on which the Savior suffered his passion, as well as the relics of many saints, and most wonderful crosses and icons, also with holy relics.

The same year Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin passed away and was buried in his patrimony in the city of Kashin in the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection. This occurred on the sixth day of May. The same year a son, Andrei, was born on the fourteenth day of the month of August to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich and he was baptized by Theodore, abbot of the monastery of Simeon.

THE STORY OF TOKHTAMYSH'S TAKING OF MOSCOW[2]

During the third year of his reign over the Volga Khanate, the seashore [of the Black Sea] cities and over Sarai, Khan Tokhtamysh sent his squires to the city called "Bulgar," where now is the city of Kazan' on the Volga; and he ordered that the Christian merchants be killed and the Russian Christian merchants be robbed and that their ships be seized and sent back to him for the ferrying of his troops.[3] He, himself, mustered a strong host and marched forthwith to the Volga with his lords and all the Tatar forces. He crossed the river Volga and moved rapidly toward Moscow against Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich and the entire Russian land. He led his army swiftly and secretly, with great cunning and evil intention, so that no tidings of his advance would be sounded.

When, however, Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod learned of this he sent to Khan Tokhtamysh his two sons, Prince Vasilii and Prince Semion. They went thither but did not find him because his march against Russia was very fast, and so they followed him for several days until they caught up with his route in a place called Sernach. They followed him along this route with utmost caution and caught up with him on the border [*ukraina*] of the Riazan' land. In the meantime, Prince Oleg of Riazan' met Khan Tokhtamysh on the frontier [*ukraina*] of his

2. There are two versions of this story in the printed text of *Nik.* The most extensive version of it, based on *Ms. Acad. XVII*, is provided here.

3. In this way he prevented the Russian merchants from informing Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich of his military preparations. Apparently Russian merchants at that time dominated the Volga trade and shipping.

Riazan' land, bowed to him and petitioned him not to campaign in his land; and he led him outside his own principality. So he became his helper in the victory over Russia and a supporter of the evil deeds against the Christians. Besides, he gave him advice how to capture the Russian land and how, without difficulty, to take the fortified stone fortress of Moscow and how to defeat and seize Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich. 1382

At that time there came perchance the tidings to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich informing of the Tatar invasion. Although Tokhtamysh did not want any word of his foray to reach the Russian land—and therefore had caught, robbed and arrested all the Russian merchants so that no news would reach Russia—still, there were some friendly people within the confines of the Horde who were well-disposed [toward Russia] and were supporters of the Russian land. When Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich received word that Tokhtamysh was marching against him with a great multitiude of his forces, he began to muster his own host. He assembled many warriors and departed from the city of Moscow with the intention of marching against the enemy legion. Then, however, he began to ponder this and held counsel with his cousin [Prince Vladimir Andreevich] and with the other princes and boyars, and there was a difference of opinion among them.

They did not want to give counsel, recalling the Prophet David, who said, "It is good and wonderful when brethren abide together." And in another place it is said, "One brother must aid the other and be as a strong fortress." But there was neither unanimity nor good faith among them and therefore, learning and understanding this, and perceiving the divergence of opinion and the disagreement among the princes, boyars and warriors, Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich comprehended that his forces were indeed diminished. Forsooth, the entire Russian land had grown feeble after the battle with Mamai beyond the Don River, and all the Russian people greatly feared and trembled as there remained but a few [able] men. The Grand Prince, himself, was perplexed and unable to decide, for he was unwilling to challenge the Khan or to raise his hand against him. And so Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich with a small force went to his city of Pereiaslavl', from thence to Rostov , and then marched with haste to Kostroma.

Khan Tokhtamysh crossed the Oka River, then, first of all, took the city of Serpukhov and from thence marched, fighting,

1382 toward Moscow.[4] A great tumult arose in this city of Moscow: some wanted to flee, others wanted to prepare the city for siege. There were great commotion and dissension, and evil people rose up against one another, robbing and sacking. When [some] people sought to leave the city, those [evil ones] would not let them out but killed them and took away their wealth. Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, pronounced an interdiction against them but they were unashamed, paid it no heed and offended Grand Princess Evdokia. The Metropolitan and the Grand Princess asked them to let them out of the city but they would not let them out. They were not even afraid of the great boyars but threatened every one and stayed by the city gates with drawn arms, throwing stones from the fortress gate and not allowing anyone to leave the city. Finally, after great pleading, they let out with difficulties Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, Grand Princess Evdokia and the others with him, but they robbed them and there was a great tumult in the city of Moscow.

Then there came to them in the city a certain Lithuanian prince named Ostei, grandson of Olgerd.[5] This one prepared the city and the people for siege, locked the gates and decided to withstand the siege with a great multitude of people, those [from Moscow] who had remained there and those refugees who had come to Moscow from the countryside and from other cities and who were present at that time. There were boyars from other places, the Surozh merchants,[6] wool merchants and other merchants, archimandrites and abbots, archpriests and priests, deacons and monks, and men and women of all ages, with infants.

On the twenty-third day of the month of August, Monday, at dinnertime Khan Tokhtamysh appeared before Moscow. When they were glimpsed from the city, the citizens sounded the trumpets. The Tatars came to the fields around the city and remained in the city fields about two or three arrows' shots from the fortress. Then a few of them came up to the city and inquired concerning the Grand Prince, asking, "Is Grand Prince Dmitrii in the city?" And

4. The Oka river was the southern boundary of Russia until the time of Ivan IV. Beyond it was the wild prairie, dominated primarily by the Tatars. The Oka is some sixty miles south of Moscow at Serpukhov and Kolomna, and one hundred and fifty miles from Moscow in its lower eastern course.

5. Ostei was actually a West Russian prince from the Lithuanian Grand Duchy.

6. Merchants from Crimea or those who dealt with Crimea.

the people of the city answered, "No, he is not in the city." The Tatars rode around the city, looked at everything and rode off; there remained nothing outside the city walls because the citizens had burned their suburbs and had not left there a single fence or tree behind which one could hide. 1382

In the meantime Prince Ostei of Lithuania, grandson of Olgerd, with the multitude of people who remained in the city or had come to the city from all parts of the country, fortified and prepared the city for the fight against the Tatars. The good people in the city prayed day and night, observing fasts and praying, expecting bitter death and preparing themselves for it with repentance, communion and tears. Some wicked people began to go from household to household, taking from the cellars mead, silver dishes and expensive glassware which belonged to the masters, getting badly drunk and adding evil unto evil. They would say, "We are not afraid of an invasion by the pagan Tatars: the fortress is strong and has stone walls and iron gates. They can not remain long besieging the city before they take fright that the city warriors might make a sortie, whilst they have to contend with our united princes outside the city who will attack them from the other side."

They climbed the walls, drunk and reeling, and cursed the Tatars, offending them in shameless manner and uttering words full of offenses, cursing, spitting at and reviling them. Then they would bare their shameful parts and show them front and aft. And they cursed and offended their Khan and provoked them, and spat upon them and threw refuse at them. They would say, "Take it and carry it to your Khan and to your lords."

The Tatars, however, came straightway to the fortress walls, waving their drawn sabers and showing from afar how they would slay. The same day toward evening the Tatar host withdrew from the city. Some people of the city, however, drank and rejoiced, imagining that they had frightened off the Tatars. On the morrow, though, the Khan, himself, came to the city with all his forces. They encircled the city from all sides, not shooting but only looking at the city. The people of the city shot at them with arrows and waved their sabers but they—the Tatars—showed how they would flay. Then the people of the city shot more arrows at them, threw stones and shot from crossbows and artillery guns [*tiufiaki*].[7]

7. *Tiufiaki* is an old Tatar word designating artillery pieces. This is the first instance when a chronicler mentions the use of fire-arms by the Russians.

1382 The Tatars became very angry and shot at the city from all sides, and their arrows flew from all directions: they were falling like strong, heavy rain so that the people could not see because the air was filled with arrows. Many men of the city fell dead on the walls because the Tatar arrows were more numerous than those coming from the city. Then they stormed the city fiercely: they had well-trained shooters, and some would shoot while others stormed here and there; they were so trained that they shot without missing. The others rode rapidly on horseback, shooting with both hands forward and backward, also without missing. Yet other Tatars built ladders, put their ladders at the walls and climbed the walls; but the men of the city boiled water in vast kettles and then poured the water on them, preventing them from climbing.

The Tatars, apparently wearied, retreated and then others stormed anew, and they were the fiercest and most savage. The men of the city fought them, throwing stones, shooting crossbows, catapults and artillery guns. Some even threw their artillery pieces at them. One man of the city by the name of Adam—a Muscovite wool merchant who stood above the St. Frol Gates—noticed an outstanding and majestic Tatar who was the son of a lord of the Horde. He drew his crossbow and shot an arrow at him, striking the latter's wrathful heart, and so brought him rapid death. This was a great casualty for the Tatars and even the Khan, himself, grieved over him.

And thus it went for three days: the Khan stayed at the city and on the fourth day he cunningly deceived Prince Ostei, grandson of Olgerd, with false words and deceitful peace. He invited him to come out of the city, and he killed him before the city gates. Then he commanded all his warriors to storm the city from all sides. In this manner he cunningly deceived Prince Ostei and all those men who were besieged.

It happened thusly: the Khan stood before the city for three days, and on the fourth day in the morning, in the middle of the meal, at the Khan's command some important Tatars, lords of the Horde and nobles, rode before the wall. Together with them were both princes of Suzdal'—Vasilii and Semion, the sons of Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and brothers-in-law of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich.

They carefully rode close to the city walls and then addressed the men on the fortress walls, saying,

"The Khan wants to show you mercy, you who are his people **1382**
and the people of the state, because you are not guilty and you do not deserve death. He, our Khan, has not come to fight you but to campaign against Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, while you deserve mercy. He asks nothing of you but only wants that you, together with your Prince, come out to meet him with honor and small gifts. He wants to see your city and he wants to enter therein and visit, and he grants you his peace and love, provided you open the gates of the city to him."

The brothers-in-law of the Grand Prince [Dmitrii Ivanovich], Princes Vasilii and Semion of Nizhnii Novgorod, the sons of Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal', who were with the Tatars, also told the men of the city, "Believe us! We are your Christian princes and this is the truth—that you have nothing to fear from the Khan or from his Tatars."

The Christian people gave credence to these words and believed them, being tempted, deceived and blinded by the Tatars' wickedness. They lost their minds because of these infidels' cunning. Nor did they understand or remember that it was said, "Believe not every spirit." [I John 4, 1] They opened the gates of the city and went out with crosses, with their prince [Ostei] and with many gifts for the Khan, and with them were their best men, archimandrites, abbots and priests with crosses. Behind them were the boyars and leading citizens, and then the people and common men. Thereupon, unexpectedly, the Tatars started slaying them: Prince Ostei was the first to be killed near the fortress walls; and then they started slaying the archimandrites, abbots and priests even in their vestments with crosses; and the boyars and honorable men. It could be seen how dishonorably and irreverently they dealt with the holy icons—they stepped on them and tore [the valuables] from them.

Then the Tatars entered the city, massacring everyone, while others climbed the fortress walls because neither the walls nor the battlements were guarded, and no one could protect or save the city. There was a horrible massacre inside the city and a most cruel slaughter was there wrought. They, the Tatars, slew for so long that their arms and shoulders grew wearied, their strength was sapped and their sabers became dull. The Christian people within the city ran about in the streets, forming crowds, wailing loudly, weeping and beating their breasts. There was no salvation to be sought anywhere, no place to escape death, no direction whither they could

1382 flee from the saber's edge. Their princes and voevodas were gone and their entire host was killed, while all their weapons vanished to the last. Some locked themselves up in the stone churches but no escape was to be had because those godless ones [the Tatars] forced and breached the church doors and smote all asunder with their swords. Everywhere was wailing and weeping in such awful wise that people could not hear each other.

The multitude of people sobbed and shrieked while they—the Tatars—fell upon the Christians, stripped them naked and slew them. They despoiled the cathedral, churches and altars, defiled the holy places; they tore away the valuables from the honorable crosses and from the wonderful icons which were bedight with gold and silver, with pearls and jewels; the church vestments, embroidered with gold and adorned with pearls, were ripped to shreds; and they tore off the frames and covers from the holy icons, and desecrated the holy icons. They stole all the holy church vessels used for the sacraments. There was a great multitude of books which had been brought from the surrounding cities and towns for the purpose of their preservation, and they had been deposited in the cathedral churches. All of this vanished without trace.

And what can we say of the treasury of the Grand Prince? This treasury, like many other valuables, swiftly vanished and the glorious wealth and riches were swiftly taken away. Let us also speak of the property of other people and of many leading boyars, whose treasuries had been amassed over long periods of time and which were full, thanks to their weal. Their warehouses and storehouses were filled with wealth, their highly valuable property was uncountable; and all this was taken and robbed by the pagans. There were also others in the city—merchants from Surozh, woolcloth makers, merchants—and their households were filled with a wealth of all manner of wares, and all was plundered.

Many monasteries were destroyed and many holy churches were torn down, while the accursed ones committed much bloodshed and defiled the holy places just as the prophet said, "My God, the enemy have entered Thy dominion and have defiled Thy holy sanctuary, and have made of Jerusalem a place like a barn. And they have scattered the bodies of Thy servants to be food for the birds of the skies; and the flesh of Thy faithful is become food for the beasts of the earth, and they spilled blood like water."

Around Moscow none were buried.[8] Virgins did not lament them, widows did not shed tears for them; and the priests and clergymen fell under enemy weapons. 1382

It was a horrifying massacre, and an endless multitude fell there, slain, both women and men, and the dead lay uncovered. There were killed Simeon, Archimandrite of the Saviour; another archimandrite by the name of Jacob; and many others—abbots, priests, deacons, monks, men and women from young to old—all were hacked to pieces. Some were drowned in the water and others were burned in fire, while very many others were taken into captivity to be the slaves of the infidels, and they were led away into the land of the Tatars.

During that time in the city could be heard only weeping and wailing, and inconsolable grief, unbearable woe and dismal bemoaning; passions and terror, and trembling, and tremor, and shame, and the offense of the Christians at the infidels' hands. All this befell us because of our growing sins. And so, swiftly, the wicked ones took the city of Moscow on the twenty-sixth day of the month of August when the holy martyrs Adrian and Natalia are remembered; and it occurred in the seventh hour of the day, Thursday, after the time of the meal.

They put the city to the torch and pillaged all the wares and wealth, and put the people to the sword. On one side was the fire, on the other—the sword. Some, fleeing the fire, died by the sword. Others, escaping from the sword, burned in the fire. Four manners of peril faced them: first, the sword; second, the fire; third, the water; and fourth, to be taken into captivity. Heretofore it had been possible to gaze upon the great and wonderful city of Moscow with its multitude of people therein, seething with wealth and splendor; and it had surpassed all the cities of the Russian land in its great glory. And princes and bishops lived there. Now its goodness changed, glory departed from it and all its honor disappeared in one hour. After it had been taken and burned, nothing was to be seen—only fire and earth and many dead corpses lying upon the ground. Holy churches burned and collapsed; stone churches

8. The quotation from the Bible and subsequent sentences have been corrected by this editor according to *Rogozhskii letopisets, PSRL* Vol. XV, column 145, which was one of the main sources for this part of the *Nik.* codex.

1382 burned within and there remained only the walls, scorched by fire. There was no chanting to be heard, neither the ringing of bells. No people could be seen going to the churches and no voices sang in them; there was no glorification of God and all was laid waste. No man walked about the burned-out city.

Not only was the city of Moscow taken, but other cities and lands were also captured by the pagans. Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, his Princess and children were in the city of Kostroma; his cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, was in Volok; his mother and Princess were in Torzhok, Bishop Gerasimus of Kolomna was in Novgorod. Then the Khan dispersed his warriors throughout the entire Russian land to fight the Grand Principality: some marched against Vladimir, killed many people and took others into captivity. Some others marched toward Zvenigorod; others, toward Mozhaisk; others, toward Volok [Lamskii]; yet others, toward Pereiaslavl'-Zalesskii. They took it and burned it, while the inhabitants of the city escaped by boats to the lake, where they remained while [the Tatars] devastated the city.

They almost caught the Grand Princess, who was journeying from Moscow to Pereiaslavl', from Pereiaslavl' to Rostov and from Rostov to Kostroma to [join] Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich. Some other Tatars marched to Iuriev, sacking and burning it, killing the Christians and leading others into captivity. They set fire to the towns, monasteries and holy churches, campaigned in the rural lands and caused the Russian land much woe.

At that time Metropolitan Cyprian of all Russia dwelt in Tver': he had returned from Novgorod [to Moscow] two days before the arrival of Tokhtamysh and, seeing the dissension and discord in the city, he departed for Tver', where he remained. The Tatars also wanted to march against Tver' but divine power forbade them it in an invisible way. Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' sent his *kilichei*,[9] named Gurlen, to Khan Tokhtamysh to convey him his expression of obeisance and to present many gifts. The Khan accepted him and the gifts honorably and let him return to Tver', sending with him to Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich his *iarlyk* for the principality of Tver'.

In the meantime Prince Vladimir Andreevich, cousin of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, stood near Volok [Lamskii] with strong

9. *Kilichei:* a Tatar word for "messenger."

forces which he had succeeded in mustering and which he prepared for battle. Unaware of this and not recognizing them, the Tatars came upon them; but he—Prince Vladimir Andreevich—fortifying himself with thoughts of God, charged them; and so, thanks to God's mercy, he killed some of them and captured others, whilst those remaining, grievously smitten and vanquished, escaped and ran off to Khan Tokhtamysh, whom they informed what had befallen them. **1382**

When the Khan was apprised that the Grand Prince was in Kostroma, whilst his cousin, Prince Vladimir, was near Volok, he grew more cautious, anticipating an attack by the Grand Prince and his cousin, and he rallied his forces. So, in a few days he marched away from the city of Moscow, taking with him a large number of captives and uncountable wealth. As a vanguard, he sent some of his troops toward Kolomna, and on their march they took the city of Kolomna. The Khan with all his forces recrossed the river Oka, fighting, and occupied and burned the land of Riazan'; and he killed the people there, while others escaped; but a great many of the people of Riazan' were taken into captivity and led to the Horde. Seeing this, Prince Oleg of Riazan' fled from the Tatar invasion. From Riazan' the Khan marched back to the Horde and sent an embassage, under his son-in-law, named Shih-Ahmat, to Russia, to Nizhnii Novgorod, to Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal'. With him he sent Semion, the Prince's [Dmitrii Konstantinovich's] son. Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich's other son, Prince Vasilii, he took with him to the Horde. So, with uncountable wealth and numberless captives, the Khan retreated to his Horde.

Thereupon, after a few days pious Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, together with his cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, each with his senior boyars, came to their patrimony of Moscow. There they viewed the devastated city which had been captured and burned by fire; the holy churches, destroyed; and the great multitude of slain lying dead. The Grand Prince grieved greatly and shed many tears at the sight.

And who would not bewail such a destruction of a city?

And who would not grieve over such a multitude of people uselessly slain?

And who would not become saddened at so many captured?

He ordered that the bodies of the slain be buried, with psalms

1382 and chanting, and he paid one rouble to those who would each bury eighty dead. When, at the end of the day, they counted how much had been paid, they had paid three hundred roubles for burying the dead.[10] So many were killed by the Tatars. And some were killed by their own because they sacked and killed each other. And there had been so many captives taken to the Horde that it was impossible to count them all.

[End of the tale of the taking of Moscow by Khan Tokhtamysh]

In the year 6891/1383. [In 6890/1382 in *Novg. IV* and *Vozn.*.] In the month of September Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent his army against Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan'.[11] Oleg fled to the prairie with his boyars whilst the troops of Grand Prince Dmitrii campaigned throughout his entire land, burning, capturing and devastating all. This destruction was worse than that caused by the Tatar army.

The same fall [In the year 6890, in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' with his son, Prince Aleksandr, went to Khan Tokhtamysh in the Horde in order to render him homage and present gifts. He did not go by the direct route but bypassed it because he was fearful and was hiding from Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich; indeed, he was seeking the grand principality of Vladimir and Novgorod for himself.

The same fall [in the year 6890, in *Vozn.*] Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Gorodets, brother of Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod and Suzdal', went from Gorodets to the Horde to Khan Tokhtamysh in order to pay him honor and present gifts.

The same fall [In the year 6890 in *Novg. IV* and in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent two of his boyars, Semion Timofeevich and Mikhail Morozov, for Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, who was in Tver' during the Tatars' invasion. He asked him to return to Moscow. Cyprian went from Tver' to Moscow on the third day of the month of October, arriving in Moscow on the seventh day of the month of October.

10. This means that at least twenty-four thousand people had been killed in Moscow at the time of its destruction by Khan Tokhtamysh, probably most of its population.

11. Dmitrii acted in retaliation against Oleg of Riazan's alliance with the Tatars.—*Ed.*

The same fall Fedor Timofeevich was killed by his evil servant.[12]

1383 The same fall [In the year 6890/1382 in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich of Moscow did not want any longer [in Moscow] His Holiness, Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, and he became unfavorable toward him. Metropolitan Cyprian remembered the words of the Lord, Who said, "When they persecute you in one city, flee into the next." [Math. 10,23] It is also written in the Holy Rules by Peter of Alexandria, and the same is widely discussed in Holy Scripture. The Lord, Himself, in His prayer commanded that the Father in heaven be addressed: "Lead us not into temptation and deliver us from evil." [Math. 6,11] It is no sin to flee from misfortune and tribulations, provided one stands firmly for the Lord. And Apostle Peter commanded us to give up anger and not lead oneself by daring and mad paths into troubles and difficulties. Enmity should be overcome through patience and humility, and if it is impossible, only then may one become angry.

So Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, departed Moscow the same fall, going to Kiev. With him went Abbot Athanasius of the monastery in Serpukhov, which had been founded by Prince Vladimir Andreevich. He came to Kiev to his Metropolitan See, to the cathedral church in Kiev, the Mother Church of all Russian churches; and the Metropolitan was received there by all with great honor. People journeyed afar from the city to meet him; there were princes and boyars and lords and many commoners, and a procession of [the clergy with] crosses; and they were happy to meet him with great honor. So Metropolitan Cyprian remained in the confines of Kiev, ruling according to canon law, and everyone obeyed and revered him.

PIMEN. At that time Metropolitan Pimen was freed from his imprisonment and irons, and Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent to Tver' for him, asking him with great honor to come to Moscow to be Metropolitan there.[13] So he came from his imprisonment to Moscow, where he was received by the Sacred Council with crosses; and the Grand Prince, himself, journeyed afar from the city with his children, his boyars and a multitude of people to meet him with

12. Fedor Timofeevich was probably the son of Timofei Vasilievich, and grandson of the last Muscovite tysiatskii, Vasilii Veliaminov.

13. Concerning Pimen, see the entry of the year 6886/1378 in the story about Mitiai.

1383 honor and love. And so Pimen became Metropolitan in Moscow and all cities which were under him. He ruled according to the church canons, and everyone heeded and revered him.

The same winter [in 6890/1382 in *Vozn.*] Metropolitan Pimen consecrated Savva Bishop of Sarai, and at the ceremony of consecration there were present Matthew, the Greek Bishop of Rostov, and Bishop Daniel. At that time Metropolitan Pimen was in the city of Pereiaslavl' and it was there that he and the above-mentioned bishops consecrated him, Savva. From Pereiaslavl' he went to Kostroma with the same bishops, and there he consecrated Michael Bishop of Smolensk. Then he went to Vladimir, and with the same aforementioned bishops he consecrated Stephen Khrap Bishop of Perm'. From thence he let them go: Bishop Savva went to Sarai, Bishop Michael went to Smolensk, and Bishop Stephen Khrap went to Perm'.

The same spring, the holiday of the Annunciation [March 25] came on Wednesday of Easter Week. After the Annunciation the snow remained four weeks and there were great freezes. Everywhere people rode in sledges as if it were the day of Theophany.[14] The roads were very firm—and it was very cold, there having been a heavy freeze.

The same spring Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent his senior son, Prince Vasilii, from Vladimir to the Horde, to Khan Tokhtamysh; he sent him in his own stead for the purpose of contesting the bestowal upon Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' of a *iarlyk* for the grand principality of Vladimir and Novgorod. He sent with him his best and most trustworthy senior boyars and they left Vladimir on the thirtieth day of April. Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich remained in the Horde with Khan Tokhtamysh for three years. They departed Vladimir by river in boats, first by the river Kliazma to the Oka, from the river Oka to the Volga, and then down the Volga to the Niz; and they went thither with gifts and rendered him [Tokhtamysh] great homage.[15]

The same year [In the year 6890/1382 in *Novg. IV* and in *Vozn.*] an envoy named Karach came to Moscow to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, from Khan Tokhtamysh. He came with good tidings

14. The Day of Theophany or Epiphany, January 6.

15. In this case the Niz is the lower course of the Volga, where Sarai, capital of the Horde, was located. It was near present Volgograd, previously called "Tsaritsyn," then "Stalingrad."

and with a charter.[16] Having somewhat recovered from his great grief and sadness, the Grand Prince commanded the Christians to build their homes and fortifications. He rendered homage and gave many gifts to the envoy of Khan Tokhtamysh. 1383

The same year blessed elder Paul, who lived an exemplary and illustrious monastic life, passed away. He was very learned and was a great philosopher.[17] He was distinguished by constant silence, and often remained without speaking for a long time. When he did speak, however, he was vastly wise and spiritually helpful, and his words were saturated with divine salt. He was mightily virtuous and wonderful in many ways. People used to call him "Paul the Tall." He was most reverently buried in the Monastery of the Caves of Nizhnii Novgorod, and a great many people mourned him because he was consolation and spiritual support to the many who would come to him. Not only priests and monks but also the common people mourned him, and even the Meropolitan and the bishops, especially Dionysius, Bishop of Suzdal', Gorodets and Nizhnii Novgorod, grieved greatly over him because he was very learned, was magnanimous in his good deeds, was obedient to God and was very sweet in consoling and aiding all.

The same year Prince Ivan Borisovich, grandson of Konstantin, went to the Horde, to Khan Tokhtamysh, to [see] his father, Boris Konstantinovich.

The same year Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod sent to the Horde, to Khan Tokhtamysh, his son, Semion, because he, himself was growing old and feeble.

ABOUT THE APPEARANCE OF THE ICON OF THE MOST PURE THEOTOKOS IN TIKHVIN

The same year there was found an icon of the Most Pure Theotokos *Odigitria*.[18] It was found in the region of Great Novgorod,

16. This charter granted Dmitrii the Grand Principality of Vladimir and Novgorod, concomitantly denying it to the Princes of Tver' and Nizhnii Novgorod—Suzdal'

17. The word, "philosopher," in Old Russian denoted an erudite and well-read person, especially in the field of theology.

18. *Odigitria*—the Icon of the Holy Virgin, Who is pointing at the Infant Jesus Christ as the Way to Salvation.

1383 in the Obonezh *piatina*[19] on the river Oiat' in Vychernitsy, about a hundred versts from the city [of Novgorod]. No one knew how it came to be there. Many miracles issued from this Icon of the Most Pure, and it was placed in the church dedicated to the Nativity of the Holy Theotokos. After a short while it disappeared in an unknown manner and reappeared in Kozhela, on Mt. Kukovo, some twenty versts away. In that place was also built a church dedicated to the Protective Veil of the Holy Theotokos. And then the Icon of the Most Pure reappeared in the air in Tikhvin over the river on the mountain, and a great multitude assembled because of this great miracle. In this place on the mountain they laid the foundation for a church built as high as three crowns,[20] dedicated to Her Most Honorable Dormition. Toward evening the people returned to their homes. When they returned to this place again the next day, they did not find anything there, while the [unfinished] building of the church, and the Icon, were to be seen on the opposite side of the river Tikhvin; and so the building of the church was completed there. Since then great miracles occurred in Tikhvin in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos to those who came thither with faith, and the icon remained there seven years. Then the church burned down from a burning candle, but the Miraculous Icon was found, unsinged, in the ashes and was placed in another church.

The same year on the thirtieth day of the month of June Dionysius, Archbishop of Suzdal', went to Constantinople to Patriarch Nilus, and the Grand Prince sent with him his spiritual father, the reverend Theodore, Abbot of the monastery of St. Simeon, who was the nephew of venerable Abbot Sergius of Radonezh; they went to discuss problems of the administration of the Russian Metropolia.

The same year on the fifth day of the month of July Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod, grandson of Vasilii, great grandson of Mikhail, gr. gr. grandson of Andrei, was tonsured to monastic orders and passed away; at holy baptism he was given the [Orthodox] name of Thomas, and his monastic name was Theodore.[21] He was buried in the dominion

19. Novgorod's main land consisted of five *piatinas* (five "fifths"). The Obonezh *piatina* was around Lake Onega and east-northeast of it.

20. *Venets*—"crown," a horizontal section of a wooden church. The more crowns, the higher the church.

21. This was a continuation of the tradition of giving a child both a customary clan name and a Christian one. On becoming a monk they would receive yet another, monastic, name.

of his father and grandfather in Nizhnii Novgorod, in the stone church of the Holy Saviour in the vicinity of the grave of his father, Konstantin Vasilievich, and of his brother, Prince Andrei. He was Grand Prince of Suzdal' for two years, and of Nizhnii Novgorod for nineteen. Altogether he lived for sixty-one years. When Khan Tokhtamysh learned of his death he grieved greatly because he loved him; and he gave the Grand Principality of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod to his brother, Prince Boris Konstantinovich, who was then with his son, Ivan, in the Horde with Khan Tokhtamysh. Khan Tokhtamysh paid him—Boris—honor, and the same year toward fall let him return to his patrimony, the Grand Principality of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod. With his son, Ivan, and with his nephew, Prince Semion Dmitrievich, he returned from the Horde with a charter from the Khan in the month of November, and he ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality in his father's and grandfather's dominion in Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod and in Gorodets. He resided with his son and his nephews in peace and love.[22] **1384**

In the year 6892/1384. Tokhtamysh, Khan of the Volga Horde and the highest Khan of all other hordes, granted Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' the Grand Principality of Tver', which was the patrimony of his father and grandfather. "I know my *ulus*[23] and every Russian prince is in one of my *ulus*, which are their patrimonies, and they are there as of yore, and they serve me justly and I treat them accordingly. Concerning [the past] malfeasance of my *ulusnik*, Prince Dmitrii of Moscow, I put him to fright and now he serves me rightly and I treat him in his patrimony as of yore. And as far as you [Prince Mikhail] are concerned, go to your patriomony of Tver' and serve me justly and I will treat you accordingly." [In the year 6891/1383 in *Novg. IV.*] Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' came from the Horde from Khan Tokhtamysh with the bestowal and honors in the month of September but he left his son, Aleksandr, in the Horde. At that time there was in the Horde with Khan Tokhtamysh, also, Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, and he was confused by a lord of the Horde who promised

22. Tokhtamysh cared for the princes of Nizhnii Novgorod and Suzdal' because during his campaign against Moscow in 1382 Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich sent him his sons, Vasilii and Semion, who aided Tokhtamysh in deceiving the defenders of Moscow.

23. *Ulus:* dominion or dominions.

1384 each of them the grand principality [of Vladimir], saying, "I will persuade the Great Khan to do this."

The same fall a cruel envoy of Khan Tokhtamysh, by the name of Adam,[24] was in Vladimir.

The same fall [In 6891/1383 in *Novg. III.*] Prince Patrikei Narimantovich, grandson of Gedimin, came from Lithuania to Novgorod and the Novgorodians gave him for his subsistence the city of Orekhov in Karelia, half of another town, Korob'i, and the village of Luga. After he had sojourned there awhile the Christians from Orekhov of Korob'i and Luga petitioned the posadniks of Novgorod, complaining about Prince Patrikei Narimantovich, grandson of Gedimin, because they were cruelly mistreated by him. Then the posadniks of Novgorod took from Prince Patrikei those towns and gave him the towns of Rusa and Ladoga.

The same year a certain Lithuanian prince by the name, Komat, was killed in Moscow for his conspiracy and treachery.[25]

The same year, with the blessing of their Archbishop Alexis, the Novgorodians built a stone fortress in Iama. The same year there was darkness over many days and nights. The birds fell to the ground and into the water, unable to see whither to fly, and people did not venture to journey upon the lakes or rivers. There was great grief and sadness among the Christians.

The same year Archbishop Dionysius of Suzdal', who had been elevated to Metropolitan of Russia by the Patriarch [of Constantinople], came from Constantinople to Kiev. He intended to journey from Kiev to Moscow, but at that time in Kiev there was Metropolitan Cyprian. [On the latter's advice] Prince Vladimir Olgerdovich of Kiev, grandson of Gedimin, arrested Metropolitan Dionysius, telling him, "Why did you go to Constantinople to be elevated by the Patriarch to Metropolitan? Stay here, under arrest in Kiev." So Metropolitan Dionysius, former Archbishop of Suzdal', remained under arrest in Kiev till his death.

The same year the entire principality of Moscow had to pay a

24. In *Vozn.* the same envoy is called "Adash".

25. In *Vozn.* under the year 6891 there is an item about the killing in Moscow of a certain Nekomat because of his treachery. It is possible that this Nekomat was the same merchant of Surozh who, together with the tysiatski's son, Ivan Vasilievich, intrigued in Tver' and in the Horde against Moscow. See the entry under 6883/1375.

heavy tribute. The villages had to pay half a rouble each and they even paid tribute to the Horde with gold. **1385**

The same year Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent his boyars, Fedor Svibla, Ivan Uda and Aleksandr Beleut, to Great Novgorod to get black timber[26] there, and the Novgorodians gave them this black timber. The same year they built a stone church to St. Philip in Novgorod, and they built another stone church to St. John.

The same year the confessor of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, Theodore, Abbot of St. Simeon monastery, nephew of reverend Abbot Sergius of Radonezh, came from Constantinople, where he was elevated to archimandrite by Patriarch Nilus of Constantinople, and he was more honored than any other archimandrite.

In the year 6893/1385. There was a portent. On the twenty-third day of the month of September, in the first hour of the day, the sun rose; but clouds came up from the western land, moving swiftly eastward. It grew dark and the light of day was extinguished until the third hour. It was as dark as a murky night in autumn. People could not determine what this was, and there was great grief and sorrow among the people. Little by little, however, these clouds began to turn dark yellow and some of them, crimson and transparent. In other regions, also, the clouds came in mid-morning and remained till dinner and even after dinner; and elsewhere fiery clouds appeared and sparks fell to the ground, setting fires. It was so fearful and awful that everyone believed it was the Second Coming of Christ.

The same fall Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' married his son, Prince Boris, to the daughter of Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ivanovich of Smolensk, and the wedding took place in the church of St. Saviour in Tver' on the eighth day of the month of November, the day of Synaxis of Archangel Michael.[27] The same fall two Greek metropolitans came from Constantinople—one named Matthew, the other, by the name of Nikander, with archdeacons and high officials, and they invited Metropolitan Pimen to journey to Patriarch Nilus in Constantinople. The same winter

26. *Chernyi bor*: the best pine timber.

27. *Synaxis*: the simultaneous appearance of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and other bodiless powers.

1385 Matthew, the Greek bishop of Rostov, passed away and he was buried in the cathedral church of Rostov in the same place where other bishops were buried.

The same winter [6892/1384 in *Novg. IV*] the posadniks of Novgorod—posadnik Fedor Timofeevich and tysiatski Bogdan Avvakumovich—summoned a veché according to the old tradition of Novgorod. They pledged on the Cross no longer to appeal to the judgment of the Metropolitan of Moscow but to [have all local cases] tried by the Novgorodian Lord Bishop Alexis, or by any other bishop who might be the lord bishop of Novgorod. [Following this new decision of the clergy] people were to be tried according to Greek Canon law, according to justice, and their faults should be proved according to the Greek Gospel law, while posadniks and tysiatskiis should perform their trial according to the Russian custom and according to the pledge on the Cross. And in the court there should be two *istets*[28] and two boyars and two prominent citizens from each side.[29]

The same winter Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' married his son, Vasilii, to the daughter of Prince Vladimir Olgerdovich of Kiev, grandson of Gedimin, and the wedding took place in the church of the Holy Saviour of Tver'.

The same year there was translated the work of the holy and most wise George Pisida, "Praise to God, concerning the creation of all creatures. Thy deeds, Lord, should be magnified because Thou hast created all by Thy wisdom." Its beginning words are: "Every action should be accompanied by the divinely inspired words, and so should be inspired the tongue, the mind, the purpose and the heart."

The same year the most malevolent Prince Oleg of Riazan' unexpectedly raided and took Kolomna. He captured the namestnik of Kolomna, whose name was Ostei, as well as many other boyars and outstanding people, whom he took with him. And he stole gold, silver and all manner of goods, and returned to his land with many captives and great spoils.

The same year [In 6894/1386 in *Novg. IV*] a son, Peter, was born to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich.

28. *Istets*: representative of the plaintiff or of the person entering the litigation.

29. The Novgorodians introduced this new rule in order to avoid the court fees which were quite considerable and which they were obliged to pay to the court officials of the Metropolitan.

The same year on the ninth day of the month of May Pimen, Metropolitan of Kiev [and all Russia] journeyed to Constantinople by way of the Volga, going down the river on boats toward Sarai; and he was accompanied by Abraham, Abbot of Rostov. 1386

The same year [In the year 6894/1386 in *Novg. IV*] Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich gathered a great host from everywhere and he sent the host, under the command of his cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, against Grand Prince Oleg of Riazan' and the latter's entire land. In these forays many Muscovite boyars and outstanding men of Novgorod and Pereiaslavl' were killed. There was also killed the voevoda of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Polotsk, grandson of Olgerd, great grandson of Gedimin. Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent another army against Murom because of the latter prince's dishonorable behavior.

The same year [In fall, in *Rogozh.*] there were *pustye begi.*[30]

In the year 6894/1386. In the month of September Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich journeyed to the monastery of the Lifegiving Trinity to venerable Abbot Sergius of Radonezh. A church service was celebrated to Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos, and [the Grand Prince] offered a meal to the holy brotherhood and gave alms. He greatly entreated venerable Abbot Sergius that the reverend Abbot Sergius, himself, should go as his envoy to Riazan', to Grand Prince Oleg, in order to arrange permanent peace and concord.

The same fall on the fifteenth day of the month of December Dionysius, Archbishop of Suzdal', who was invested Metropolitan of Russia by Patriarch Nilus of Constantinople, passed away in Kiev. At that time in Kiev there was Metropolitan Cyprian. When Metropolitan Dionysius came from the Patriarch to Constantinople he was arrested by Prince Vladimir Olgerdovich of Kiev, grandson of Gedimin, and he remained under arrest until he passed away. And he was buried in the Kievan Cave [Monastery] of great Anthony and Theodosius, and his body is there till now and remains whole.[31]

The same fall during St. Philip's fast[32] on St. George's day, a

30. *Pustye begi*: an unclear expression, perhaps meaning "empty ears" of rye or wheat. In contempory Russian, *pustye pobegi* denotes a bad harvest.

31. Cyprian was afraid that the arrival of Dionysius, now legally elevated by the Patriarch to Metropolitan of all Russia, would put an end to his own ambition to rule the entire Russian church.

32. St. Philip, or Nativity (Advent) Fast begins November 15, after the day of St. Philip the Apostle, Nov. 14. *Lit. Cal.*,p. 74.

1386 Sunday, Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow escaped from the Horde, from Khan Tokhtamysh.

The same fall during St. Philip's fast the venerable Abbot Sergius of Radonezh, himself, went as envoy to Riazan', to Prince Oleg of Riazan', on behalf of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich of Moscow, asking him for permanent peace and concord; with him were the Grand Prince's senior boyars. Earlier, several envoys went to him but did not succeed and could not satisfy him. The venerable Abbot Sergius, this wonderful elder, spoke quiet and humble words and delivered a very impressive speech to Prince Oleg. Thanks to the grace given him by the Holy Spirit, he discussed with him—Oleg—at length matters of the soul, peace and love; and Grand Prince Oleg of Riazan' turned his fierceness into humility and became peaceful and quiet; and in his soul grew a tender emotion because he became shamed by this holy man, and he concluded eternal peace and concord, [to be preserved] from generation to generation, with Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich. And so the venerable Abbot Sergius returned with honor and great glory to Moscow, to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, and he was duly praised, glorified and honored by everyone.

The same winter the servant of God, Semion Iama, passed away. He was buried in Moscow in the monastery of the Holy Dormition of Our Lady.

The same winter on the first day of the month of January, Monday, when great Basil of Caesaria is remembered, the sun disappeared during the mid-day meal and remained the size of a four-day-old moon.[33] Then toward evening, it grew back to its full size.

The same year Grand Prince Iagailo Olgerdovich of Lithuania married the daughter of the King of [Poland and] Hungary and he became converted to the German faith of the Roman law. Returning to Lithuania, he baptized into the Roman law half of the city of Vilno.[34]

The same year Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod journeyed to Khan Tokhtamysh in the Horde and the same year, in the fall, he returned from the Horde to his

33. This was an eclipse of the sun.

34. In some *mss.*, "baptized half of Lithuania into the Roman law." That is, into the Catholic faith. Most Lithuanians remained heathen until the end of the fourteenth century.

patrimony, to Nizhnii Novgorod, Gorodets and Suzdal'. The same year the church of the Holy Archangel Michael burned in the city of Gorodets, which is in the land of Nizhnii Novgorod. The same year Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Suzdal', son of Konstantin, escaped from the Horde, from Khan Tokhtamysh; but he was met on his way by the Tatar envoy, who seized him and brought him back to the Horde, to Khan Tokhtamysh. He was badly tortured by the Khan. **1386**

The same year Stephen Khrap, Bishop of Perm', journeyed to Novgorod the Great.[35]

The same year Archimandrite Joachim renewed the deteriorated monastery and deteriorated church and supplied it with icons and books. He assembled monks, built many new cells, brought thither Abbot John, a wonderworking and early-rising man. And so he organized a community life there for the sake of Christ.

The same year Khan Tokhtamysh of the Great Volga Horde killed his own wife, named Tovlunbeka.

[GRAND PRINCE DMITRII IVANOVICH CAMPAIGNS AGAINST NOVGOROD][36]

The same year the Novgorodians of Novgorod the Great became militant and peace came to an end between them and Grand Prince Dmitrii. The same year Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich grew resentful toward the people of Novgorod because of [their freebooters'—*Ushkuinuks'*] raid against Kostroma and the people of the [upper] Volga. During the Fast of St. Philip, before Christmas, he marched toward Novgorod with his host and with his cousin, Grand Prince Vladimir Andreevich, having rallied great forces. Not going up to Novgorod, he camped thirty versts from the city, in Iamny. The Novgorodians met him in Iamny with great forces, well armed, but sent him their envoys, Ivan Avvakumovich and Ivan Aleksandrovich, petitioning for peace; but he did not accept the peace. This happened before Christmas during St. Phillip's fast.

The Novgorodians sent to him their Lord Bishop Alexis, also with a petition for peace. He went to the Grand Prince and said, "My lord, Grand Prince! I give you my blessing and Novgorod the

35. St. Stephen of Perm', whose *vita* was written by Epiphanius the Wise, went to Novgorod in order to oppose the spread of the Strigolniks' heresy there and in Pskov.

36. The translation of the story of this campaign follows the more detailed account found in *Ms. Acad. XVII.*

1386 Great bows before you and petitions that you accept peace, and there will not be any bloodshed. For those [*Ushkuiniks* who robbed Kostroma and] who are guilty, Novgorod the Great gives you eight thousand rubles."

The Grand Prince, however, greatly resented Novgorod the Great, did not listen to the Lord Bishop and wanted to go against Novgorod. The Lord Bishop sent ahead of him to Novgorod the Great Klement Vasilievich, son of the posadnik, saying, "The Grand Prince did not accept peace and wants to march against Novgorod. You must be ready." Then the Novgorodians built fortifications and burned the houses [outside the fortress walls].

At that time Prince Patrikei Narimantovich and Prince Roman Iurievich, together with the princes of Kopor'e, were in Novgorod. They rode in armour out of Novgorod with the Novgorodians, marched to Zhilotuga on Sunday before dinner, remained there [for a time] and then returned to the city. At that time the Lord Bishop came from the Grand Prince without peace: there was a great panic in Novgorod, as it happened on the fourth day after Theophany [January 10]. Tidings came to the city that Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich was encamped at Zhilotuga with all his forces. When the Novgorodians learned this they took great fright and sent scouts to reconnoiter; the scouts rode thither but encountered no armies.

Then the Novgorodians, because of their alarm, with the blessing of the Lord Bishop and according to their own counsel, burned the suburbs around the city, including twenty-four great monasteries and six wooden churches. And they burned all the houses in the Carpenters' section, in the Liudin section and in the Nareva section; and they burned all the houses outside the city beyond Kopanitsa, and these were great losses to the city of Novgorod the Great. On Monday [Muscovite] troops burned the monastery of St. Nicholas but did not burn the church, and they campaigned in many rural districts. They robbed much merchandise from the Novgorodian merchants, and took many men, women and children into captivity.

Thereafter the Novgorodian posadnik, Grigorii Iakunovich, asked their Lord Bishop Alexis, "God's Bishop, Alexis! Arrange peace between us; if you do not, the sword will have many of us." Lord Bishop Alexis with two archimandrites, seven priests and five outstanding citizens, one man from every section, went for the

second time to the Grand Prince, petitioned him on behalf of Nov- 1386
gorod the Great, and told him, "My Lord Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich! The Novgorodians will, themselves, seek out the guilty people who raided Kostroma, robbed and killed the merchants on the Volga, all those who raided with them, and all those who still owe a tax to the Prince. And they give you eight thousand rubles for them, and they give you, the Grand Prince, the black timber."[37] Then the Novgorodians took from the treasury, which is next to the cathedral of Holy Sophia, three thousand rubles and sent them to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich with posadnik Grigorii Iakunovich and posadnik Vasilii Fedorovich. The remaining five thousand rubles they would pay to the Grand Prince when they should receive them from the people of Zavolochie.[38]

The Grand Prince became reconciled with them, agreed to the terms of the peace, listened to Lord Bishop Alexis. He accepted from the Novgorodians eight thousand rubles for those guilty ones, returned to Iamny and then marched back to Moscow.

The same year the Novgorodians' posadnik, Fedor Timofeevich, Timofei Iur'evich and Iurii Dmitrievich, together with the junior boyars, young men and squires, marched beyond the Volok to obtain the tribute [actually, fine] from the people living in Zavolochie. It was the remaining five thousand rubles which were imposed upon them by the Novgorodians, who made the decision according to the old tradition at a meeting of the *veché*. And it was just, as far as the land of Zavolochie was concerned, because the people who lived in Zavolochie really had plundered along the Volga, robbed and killed the merchants, and then sacked the city of Kostroma. The Grand Prince returned from Iamny, went to Moscow, made peace with the Novgorodians, and sent his namestnik and his trained lumbermen [*chernobortsy*] to Novgorod the Great.

The same year the Novgorodians built a stone church of St. Clement in Ivor Street. The same year the city of Orekhov burned, and in Novgorod the section of Nikita Street burned.

The same year the lords of the Horde started fighting among themselves.

The same year Grand Prince Dmitrii sent his spiritual father,

37. "Black timber": the best pine timber.

38. *Zavolochie*, or *Zavolocheskaia zemlia:* the land beyond the portages between the rivers Dvina and Volga.

1386 Theodore, Archimandrite of St. Simeon, to Constantinople to Patriarch Nilus to discuss the administration of the Russian Metropolia. At the same time Euphrosinius, Archimandrite of St. Dionysius monastery, went from Nizhnii Novgorod to Constantinople in order to be there consecrated Bishop of the diocese of Suzdal'.

The same year Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich of Tver', grandson of Aleksandr, returned from the Horde of Tokhtamysh and, together with him, there came a Tatar enoy. The same year[39] Grand Prince Iagailo Olgerdovich of Lithuania went to the Polish land and there married, taking to wife Queen Iadwiga, daughter of King Kasimir. He was baptized there into the Roman faith.[40] And in this way he became the King of Poland. Then he sent his men to the Lithuanian land and commanded them to baptize the [heathen] Lithuanians into the German [Roman Catholic] faith, including his half of the city of Vilna.[41] Two leading Lithuanians accepted baptism into the Christian faith.[42] But he wanted to baptize them into his own [Roman] faith, but they did not obey him. So King Iagailo punished them with many tortures and commanded that they be turned over unto death.

The same year Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, grandson of Ivan, seeing that he was [purposefully] detained in the Horde, and being aware that he could not escape directly to Russia, took counsel with his faithful supporters and fled to the land of Podolia,[43] then to Valachia[44] to voevoda Peter [of Moldavia]. From thence, hiding, he went secretly to the German land, but there he was recognized by Prince Vitovt Keistutovich, who kept him.[45] At that

39. This item is found only in one *ms., Akad. XVII.*

40. Before, Iagailo was heathen.

41. Vilno was the capital of Lithuania but a considerable part of the population were Orthodox Russians. The remainder were heathen Lithuanians. This paragraph is from *Acad. XVII.*

42. Obviously, the Orthodox faith, in the mind of the chronicler.

43. Podolia is located at the very southwestern edge of the Russian land, on the upper courses of the rivers Dnestr and Bug, south of Volynia and southwest of Galicia, bordering Moldavia, called "Valakhia" in *Nik.* The Slavs called the Romanized local tribes "Valakhs," who began to call themselves "Rumanians" only in the nineteenth century.

44. Actually, Moldavia.

45. "The German land" here denotes the Teutonic Order in former East Prussia.

time Vitovt dwelt in the German [Teutonian] land, whither he had fled after the murder of his father, Keistut. This Vitovt had only one daughter and he wanted Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich to marry her, and he told him, "I will let you go to your land, to your father, provided you marry my daughter. She is my only one." And he—Prince Vasilii—promised to do thus. Then Vitovt Keistutovich held him in great honor until he let him go to his father in Moscow. 1387

The same year Prince Skirgailo Olgerdovich occupied Polotsk. He captured his brother, Prince Andrei Olgerdovich, and killed the latter's son.

In the year 6895/1387. In the month of September, after peace and concord were arranged by the venerable Abbot Sergius, between Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich and Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan' great love developed in each for the other, and Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich gave his daughter, Sofia, in marriage to Riazan', to Prince Prince Fedor Ol'govich of Riazan'.

The same autumn there were great freezes and the rivers and lakes froze, and it snowed. In Novogorod the Great on the twenty-sixth day of the month of October, at midnight, the wind blew so strongly that it pushed the ice from the lake into the river Volkhov and broke nine piers of the large bridge.

The same fall Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich sent his senior boyars to meet his son, Prince Vasilii, in the land of Polotsk.

In the month of January, the same winter, Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', who greatly disliked Bishop Euthemius of Tver', did not want to have him any longer and therefore Bishop Euthemius went to the monastery of St. Nicholas over the Brook.

The same winter, on the nineteenth day of January, Prince Vasilii returned from Lithuania to his father, Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich of Moscow. With him were Polish princes and lords and other Poles, as well as the senior boyars of the Grand Prince who had gone thither for him.

The same winter Prince Rodoslav,[46] son of Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', escaped from the Horde and came home.

The same winter in the month of January a daughter, Anna, was born to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich.

ISAAC THE SILENT. The same winter the silent monk, Isaac,

46. Rodislav, in some other *mss.*

1387 of the monastery of the venerable Abbot Sergius, passed away after having lived an exemplary life distinguished by all virtues: obedience, humility, chastity, silence, abstinence, poverty, non-acquisition, handwork, fasting, waking, not speaking; he was never angry, he always kept the word of God on his lips, pondered death and used the most worn vestments. He with love practiced silence and non-speaking, reading divine scripture, praying, and was often in the state of emotional tenderness with tears. Verily, he was wondrous and praiseworthy, a terrestrial angel, a heavenly man.

THE BATTLE OF SMOLENSK

The same year Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ivanovich of Smolensk, together with his nephew, Prince Ivan Vasilievich and his children—Gleb and Iurii—and with large forces, marched to make war on the fortress of Mstislavl', which had been taken from him by Lithuania and which he wanted to win back. Moving to do battle, he caused the Lithuanian land much evil, waging war there. The men of Smolensk caught the Lithuanian men, and tortured them with various tortures, and slew them.[47] Some men, women and infants were locked in their huts and burned. In the hut they would remove a part of the walls, from the bottom to the top, and then place the hands of the captives there between the logs, squeezing them, and let them hang from one corner to the other. And then beneath these hanging people they would squeeze the hands of others between the logs and let them hang, squeezed, also between the corners. And so the people would hang up to the top of the building on all four of its sides. They did this in many buildings and they burned many of them in their great ferocity. They would pierce infants with their lances, others they would hang upside down on poles, and they tormented them mercilessly in a most inhuman manner. Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ivanovich marched with his children, Gleb and Iurii, and with his cousin, Prince Ivan Vasilievich, to the City of Mstislavl' on Wednesday of Holy Week, on the eighteenth of the month of April. Together [with the local people] there were in the fortress the men under Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich. The levies of Smolensk besieged the fortress for eleven days, unsuccessfully.

47. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century people from the west Russian lands would be termed "Lithuanians." Actually, they were Russians who populated most of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. They were all Russians around Mstislavl' and Smolensk.

Then one day, in the morning of St. Thomas' week, midway before dinner, there appeared from one side the troops of the Lithuanian host, moving toward the fortress; and the men of Smolensk glimpsed the Lithuanian banners in the field.[48] In the first army was Grand Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich. The other troops were under Prince Koribut Olgerdovich. Then, in the third army was their brother, Prince Lugven Olgerdovich. And in the fourth army came Vitovt Keistutovich with a multitude, with numberless Lithuanian forces, marching swiftly across the fields toward the fortress. When the men of Smolensk saw them they took fright and began to waiver, but nonetheless undertook preparing and aligning these troops. They marched against each other and clashed under the wall of the fortress of Mstislavl' on the field, on the river Vekhra, while the men of the city stood on the walls and watched them from the city. There was a great battle and an evil massacre, and many fell dead on the river Vekhra. Thereafter the princes Olgerdovich were victorious, and of the men of Smolensk, some were killed and some escaped. Grand Prince Sviatoslav Ivanovich of Smolensk was killed there. He was the grandson of Aleksandr, great grandson of Gleb Rostislavovich, gr. gr. grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Davyd, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, who was the son of Vladimir Monomakh. And this Vladimir Monomakh was the son of Vsevolod, and Vsevolod was the son of Iaroslav, and Iaroslav was the son of Grand Prince Vladimir. Also killed was his cousin, Prince Ivan Vasilievich, grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Aleksandr; both sons of Sviatoslav—Princes Gleb and Iurii—were captured and taken to Lithuania. Many other men of Smolensk, boyars, voevodas and squires, were killed, captured, drowned in the river Vekhra, or escaped. The Lithuanian princes chased the others and followed them to Smolensk. The men of Smolensk locked themselves up in the city of Smolensk and the Lithuanians besieged the city for a long time and took a ransom from it. They returned to them the bodies of the slain princes, and Smolensk had to follow their will as much as they [the latter] wanted. 1387

Of their [the Olgerdovichs'] own volition they put Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich as prince of Smolensk, but they took his brother, Gleb

48. The remaining part of this paragraph about the battle of Smolensk follows the more detailed account found in *Ms. Acad. XVII.*

1387 Sviatoslavich [as hostage] to Lithuania. They returned after a great victory and with great glory, having vanquished a vast multitude of Smolensk troops, princes and voevodas, boyars and squires, and an endless number of common people. This battle took place on the twenty-ninth day of the month of April. The same summer there was such a plague in Smolensk, as well as in its rural districts and towns, that there remained alive only ten men in the whole city.

⁂

The same year in the city of Tver' they built an earthen wall. The same year they dug a moat which was deeper than a man's height.

[ARCHBISHOP ALEXIS RESIGNS]

The same year the Novgorodians, with the blessing of their Lord Bishop, constructed a stone fortress of Porkhov. The same year the Novgorodian Lord Bishop Alexis resigned his archbishopric of his own will and of his own volition, having given a blessing to his spiritual children: posadniks, tysiatskiis and all the people. He retired to the monastery of the Holy Resurrection in Derevianitsa, after having been on the Bishop's See thirty years, less one year and five months. Then the Novgorodians, according to their custom, summoned the veché and selected three men: John, abbot of Khutyn' monastery; Athanasius, abbot of the Resurrection monastery; and Parphenius, abbot of the monastery of the Annunciation. They selected them on the day of Ascension, the seventh day of May, awaiting the Metropolitan's return from Constantinople; at that time Metropolitan Pimen was in Constantinople, at the Patriarch's request.

The same year on the eve of St. Peter's day [June 29th] the Tatars gathered and, unexpectedly, raided Riazan'. They laid waste to Riazan' and Liubutesk, and nearly captured Prince Oleg.

The same year Khan Aksak Temir [Tamerlane] conquered Arnach from Khan Tokhtamysh of the Volga Horde.

The same year Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod sent his son, Prince Ivan, to the Horde.

The same year Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Suzdal' returned from the Horde, having been granted the city of Gorodets by Khan Tokhtamysh. The same year Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Suzdal'

and Gorodets and his brother, Prince Semion Dmitrievich of Suzdal', **1387**
gathered many warriors from his patrimony of Suzdal' and Gorodets, having asked and received the help of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich of Moscow—the levies of Zvenigorod and Volok—and they marched against their uncle, Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod. Arriving there, they besieged the city for eight days, and then they made peace with their uncle, Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich. Their uncle told them, "My dear nephews! Now I weep because of you; but later, you will weep because of your enemies." And he gave them some of his lands of Nizhnii Novgorod, and they returned him those of his lands [which they occupied]; and so they made peace among them.

The same year, because of heavy rains, there was a great flood in the rivers.

The same year after St. Peter's day [June 29th], on the sixth day of the month of July, Metropolitan Pimen came to Russia from Constantimople; but he was not to be the Metropolitan of Kiev, but of Moscow only. He came without straightening out this circumstance—because Cyprian was still Metropolitan in Kiev and Pimen was Metropolitan in Moscow.[49] The same year on the fifteenth day of the month of August, on the holiday of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, Pimen, Metropolitan of Moscow, consecrated Theognost bishop of Riazan'; the Grand Prince [Dmitrii] attended [the ceremony.] The same year Gerasimus, Bishop of Kolomna, passed away.

The same year the posadniks and tysiatskiis of Novgorod started fighting each other, and three sections of Novgorod rose up against posadnik Osip Zakhar'ich. They rang [the bell] in the cathedral of Holy Sophia for the *veché* and all went to the court in armour and with weapons. Posadnik Osip Zakhar'ich escaped beyond the river into the Carpenters' section; but then the whole Merchants' section rose up against him, and for two weeks there was much fighting; and they removed the office of posadnik from Osip Zakhar'ich. So they attained peace and concord among themselves, and gave the office of posadnik to Vasilii Ivanovich.

In the year 6896/1388. In the month of September Metropolitan Pimen sent to Novgorod asking the posadniks and

49. Cyprian, who had left Moscow because of disagreement with Grand Prince Dmitrii, did not relinquish the Metropolitan See and settled in Kiev.

1388 tysiatskiis to come to him in Moscow with those abbots who had been elected candidates for archbishop of Novgorod. The same winter on the eighth day of the month of January [the Novgorodian envoys] came with John, abbot of Khutyn', to Metropolitan Pimen in Moscow to have him consecrated there, providing God should want to have John as Archbishop of Novgorod. The envoys were the Novgorodian posadnik, Vasilii Fedorovich; tysiatskii Osip Faleleevich; Iov Avvakumovich; Timofei Ivanovich, and other boyars; and a great many leading citizens. So he was consecrated Archbishop of Novgorod by Metropolitan Pimen on the seventeenth day of the same month of January. This consecration by the Metropolitan was attended by the following bishops: Theognost, Bishop of Riazan'; Michael, Bishop of Smolensk; Savva, Bishop of Sarai; and Daniel, Bishop of Zvenigorod. And he was consecrated in the presence of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich.

The same winter on the eighteenth day of January a son was born to Prince Vladimir Andreevich: he was baptized by name, Afanasii, but was also called Iaroslav.[50] And from him descended those who were called the "Iaroslavoviches."

The same winter there was a disagreement between Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich and his cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich. The senior boyars of Prince Vladimir Andreevich were arrested and deported to various cities. They remained thus under arrest, strictly guarded and in dire need; very cruel jailers were set to guard each of them.

The same winter Theognost, Metropolitan of Trepizond, came to Moscow to gather alms there.[51]

The same spring on the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, the holiday of the Annunciation of the Most Pure Theotokos, Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich made peace and was reconciled with his cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich.

The same spring on Palm Sunday Pimen, Metropolitan of Moscow, consecrated Paul, archimandrite of the Nativity monastery in

50. Afanasii was his Christian name, which was usually kept secret in order to prevent the effects of possible witchcraft. Iaroslav was his Slavic clan name, by which he was customarily known and called.

51. It was quite common for the Byzantine clergy to go to Russia in order to get financial support there.

Vladimir, to be Bishop of Kolomna. At that time Metropolitan Cyprian was in Kiev. 1389

The same spring after Easter Prince Iurii Dmitrievich fell gravely ill, but God was merciful toward him and he recovered.

That spring there was a great plague in Pskov and sickness was in the glands. The very same spring Archbishop John [of Novgorod] journeyed from Novgorod to Pskov. He celebrated a church service there and blessed everyone with holy water. The plague stopped and he returned in good health to Novgorod with his attendants. The same year posadnik Grigorii Iakovlevich erected over the wall gates a stone church dedicated to the Protective Veil of the Most Pure Theotokos. The same year there was a great plague in Novgorod.

The same year envoys came to Moscow from the Pope of Rome.

Prince Lugven [Ol'gerdovich] of Lithuania, called "Simeon" in holy baptism, sent his envoys to Novgorod the Great. Their names were Ovogimont and Bratosha. He wanted to come to the Novgorodian land and to be assigned the same towns which previously Narimunt [Gediminovich] had possessed. The same year Prince Lugven Ol'gerdovich, grandson of Gedimin, came to Novgorod, on the day of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos. The Novgorodians received him with honor and in the month of August assigned him the same towns which earlier had been those of Narimunt Gediminovich.[52]

In the same month of August the Tatars raided the frontiers of Riazan'.[53]

In the year 6897/1389. There was a bad plague in Novgorod the Great and in Pskov and in the Novgorodian lands and towns. The same fall from the fifth day of the month of September until the ninth there was uninterrupted rain. Then snow began to fall and there were severe freezes and cold. The same winter from St. Nicholas's day [December 6] till the holiday of Theophany [January 6] there were severe cold and great misery among the people and cattle.

52. Lugven Ol'gerdovich was a grandson of Gedimin. Narimunt Gediminovich was his uncle. Repetitious text.

53. *Ukrainy Riazanskiia.*

1389 [PIMEN'S JOURNEY TO CONSTANTINOPLE][54]

The same spring on the tenth day of the month of May during the evening dusk the moon disappeared and was not seen for a long while. Then it reappeared before the early morning dawn.

The same spring on the sixteenth day of the month of May a son, Konstantin, was born to Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich. His older brother, Vasilii Dmitrievich, and Mariia Vasilievna, wife of the tysiatskii, were present at his baptism because Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich was unwell.

THE PASSING OF GRAND PRINCE DMITRII IVANOVICH[55]

The same year Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich passed away—he was the grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Danilo, gr. gr. grandson of Aleksandr, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod [Great Nest], gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson

54. On pp. 95–108 of Vol. XI of *PSRL*, the journey of Metropolitan Pimen to Constantinople, as well as his death there, are described. After his demise the clergy which accompanied him made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Although this tale is colorful, it is nonetheless not pertinent to Russian history and for this reason, as well as for the sake of economy of space, it is here omitted from this translation.—*Ed.*

55. This *vita* is a eulogistic work embellished with repetitious rhetorical praises of the Grand Prince. It is intended not so much to provide historical and biographical details of the Prince's reign and life as to praise him and depict him as an exemplary, almost saintly, ruler and Christian man. Later there was added to this hagiographical *vita* Dmitrii's *Will*, which follows rather closely the actual extant document later published in *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov* (Vol. II, No. 34, Moscow, 1817). The author of the original *vita* is unknown but some scholars—as, for instance, V. Adrianova-Perets and A. V. Soloviev (*TODRL*; Vols. V and XVI), believe that the original version was written in the early fifteenth century by Epiphanius the Wise. Indeed, Epiphanius introduced in Russia the highly ornamental manner of hagiography characterized by panegyrical rhetoric which was developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Byzantium and the Balkans by followers of the contemplative Hesichast monastic movement and literary school. For them actual details of a saint's or ruler's life was of less importance than his ascetic and spiritual achievements. One of the leading literary representatives of this contemplative spiritual school was the Bulgarian Patriarch Calliste (1363), who, in his *Life of Gregory of Sinai*, determined the task of writers as "stressing the immaterial (eternal and spiritual) substance in material (earthly) events." (See Likhachev, D., *Poetika*, p. 124.)

of Iurii [Dolgorukii], gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir [Monomakh], the latter [Monomakh] being the son of Vsevolod and grandson of Iaroslav [the Wise], and great grandson of Vladimir [the Saint], the new great Constantine[56] and who Christianized the Russian land. He [Dmitrii Ivanovich] was also kin of the new wonderworkers, Boris and Gleb,[57] and was brought up in spiritual teaching and [received] strong, wonderful religious instruction. From childhood he loved God, the Most Pure Theotokos and all the saints. He always attended the church services, greatly respected the clergy and monks, and was aware of the grace of God which descended upon them.[58] He loved pilgrims and the needy, personally fed them and gave them to drink, and would give them alms. **1389**

When his father, Grand Prince Ivan Ivanovich, abandoned this vain, rapidly passing and poor life for the life eternal, the young one [Prince Dmitrii] was only ten years old. Soon his mother, Grand Princess Aleksandra, also passed away and he remained alone in the lands of his patrimony, reigning on the throne of the Grand Principality [of Vladimir and Moscow] and caring well for his patrimony and administering the Grand Principality.

It is said of him that from childhood he lived a moral and strict life. He did not indulge in vain speech. He stayed away from indecent speech. He disliked merriment and games.

He avoided people of bad morals,
He always listened with tender emotion to divine scripture,
He always attended the divine church,
He adorned and cared [for church buildings],
He highly respected the clergy and monks,
He always distributed alms,
He strongly protected his patrimony, his nation with his bravery,
He hated malicious gossip,
He always forgave those who sinned against him,
He was without hatred, as an infant;

56. This is a reference to the Emperor Constantine, who introduced Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire.

57. The passion martyrs Boris and Gleb were killed in 1015 by Iaropolk the Accursed.

58. Here is meant the apostolic succession of the clergy.

1389 He had, though, the mind of a grown person;
He was terrifying toward the enemy in battle;
He defeated those who arose against him,
He protected Moscow wonderfully with strong walls.
His name was glorified in all countries.

Before his marriage he preserved his body in chastity [just] as the church is preserved by the Holy Spirit. His eyes often gazed upon the ground, from which he was taken. He used to say, "We live [here on earth] and then go to the earth; it is written, 'We were made of earth that we will go to the earth [after we die].' We were born naked and naked we will leave [this world]."[59] And his mind was always directed toward heaven. At the age of seventeen he married Evdokia, daughter of Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and of Grand Princess Anna. Even after the wedding he lived in purity, restraining the desires of the body. He was a firm and good helmsman of his body, being directed by the Almighty's providence.

He was inspired by the Holy Spirit and although he had the crown of Tsar, he fasted, thirsted and prayed constantly. Night and day he recited prayers and psalms, and his perishable body was [dominated by the thought of] the imperishable one. He occupied the throne of Tsar and was dressed in Tsar's purple.[60] But on his naked body he would wear a hair shirt, and he constantly thought of donning monastic robes and sweetly dreamed of the cross of Christ, in order to follow in His steps. During holy Lent he lived very strictly and every Sunday he would have Communion, always being in sweet humility and shedding tears.[61] Although he did not know all divine scripture to the end, in his deeds he entirely followed spiritual wisdom. Indeed, he was an earthly angel and a heavenly man.

He lived with his Princess Evdokia, the daughter of Grand Prince Dmitrii Konstantinovich of Suzdal' and of her mother, Grand Princess Anna, in purity for twenty and four years; and she bore

59. Periphrasing of Job I. 21. "Naked I came out of my mother's womb and naked shall I return thither."

60. Purple was the distinctive color of the Byzantine Emperor and his family. Children of the Emperor were designated as "born in purple" because their birth couch was covered with a purple cloth.

61. Shedding pious tears during prayer and the church service was considered in Eastern Christianity as a highly spiritual achievement.

him sons and daughters. He ruled his patrimony, the Grand Prin- 1389
cipality, for twenty-seven years and six months. Altogether, he lived for forty years: he worked and sweated on behalf of the Orthodox faith, of all Orthodox Christianity, and of his fatherland.

And then his illness occurred: first of all, he fell ill and nearly died; and then he recovered and people rejoiced about it. Thereafter, however, he developed a greater disease and he sighed heavily in his heart, which hurt him badly; and all his interior organs pained him.

When he became aware that his life was approaching its end he summoned his Princess Evdokia, who was also unwell at that time after the birth of her son, Konstantin; and he also summoned his sons and his boyars, whom he addressed:

"Listen to me, all of you! I am departing this vain, short-lived and poor life and am going to my Lord God! You, my Princess Evdokia, shall instruct and teach your children to fear Lord God, to preserve His Commandments, to honor God's priests, to love the monks and the nuns, to be merciful toward the poor and needy, and to live peacefully and in concord among themselves."

Then he addressed his sons:

"You, my sons, fear God. Respect your mother and preserve peace and concord among yourselves. I leave you all under the protection of my Lord God, His Most Pure Mother, Theotokos, and my Princess, your mother, Evdokia. Listen to your mother and remember what is said in the scripture: 'Trespassing the father's will will destroy the children's home and put an end to the mother's life.' But if you preserve the fear of God in your hearts and observe His Commandments you will be blessed and will live long years on this earth; and your souls will be among the blessed, your dominions will grow and expand, your enemies will fall under your feet, aliens will flee at the sight of your face and the burden of your land will become lighter, its wealth will increase. Love your boyars, render them the honor they deserve according to the deeds of each, and do nothing without their counsel. Be friendly toward your servants, and whatsoever you must do, do it after consideration and with your mother's counsel."

Then he told his boyars,

"You are aware of my habits and ways. I was born and grew up during your lives and I ruled my patrimony, the Grand Principality [of Moscow] for twenty and seven years. And I am now forty

1389 years old since my birth. I have fought along with you in many countries, I have been feared, thanks to you, in many battles, and with the Lord's aid I defeated and vanquished my enemies; I strengthened with you my Grand Principality and brought peace and tranquility to it; I preserved the dominion of my patrimony; I have had great honor and love for you, and my cities and great power were given to you; I loved your children and caused none of you any evil; I took nothing by force from you; I did not bother you; I did not reproach you; I did not rob you; I did not dishonor you. I honored and loved all of you and held you in high esteem. I rejoiced and grieved with you. And you can be called not my boyars but the princes of my land. Now I remind you of your word which you gave me, saying, 'Our lord Prince! We must serve you and your children, and we will lay down our heads for you.' Now, after my passing from this short-lived and poor life, strengthen yourselves to serve sincerely and with all your hearts my Princess Evdokia and my children! In time of gladness, rejoice with them and do not abandon them in time of grief, so that your grief may later turn to joy. And the Lord of peace be with you."

Then he summoned, first of all, his eldest son, Prince Vasilii, to whom he gave the Grand Principality, his patrimony. To his second son, Prince Iurii, he gave Zvenigorod with all its lands. He also gave him [the city of] Galich with all its lands, which was once the grand principality of Galich and which had been bought by his grandfather. To his third son, Prince Andrei, he gave [the city of] Mozhaisk with all its land, and he also gave him [the principality of] Belozero with all its land and including the Volok district with Shagotie and the Miloliub districts with all their settlements, and which had been bought by his grandfater. To his fourth son, Prince Peter, he gave [the city of] Dmitrov with all its land; and he gave him also Uglech Polé, to which Toshnia and Siama belonged, all of which had been purchased by his grandfather.

"In the case God should take my senior son, Vasilii, then my next son will receive the throne of Vasilii, the Grand Principality, while his own appanage will be divided by my Princess, their mother, Evdokia, between my other sons. And you, my children, Princes, obey your mother, Evdokia. With whatsoever your mother gives you, be satisified."

And to his wife, the Princess, he gave from the Grand Principality of Pereiaslavl' the place named Iulka; from the land of Kos-

troma, the place called Iledam, with Komela; from the appanage of Prince Iurii, the place named Sol' in the Galich land; from the appanage of Prince Andrei, from the land of Belozero [he gave] Vol'sk with Shagotie and the Miloliub districts; and from the land of Vladimir, the town of Andreevskoe; and from the land of Pereiaslavl', the town of Dobroe, and whatsoever belongs to them. 1389

"And then from the appanage of my son, Prince Vasilii, Kanevo, I let her have Pesochna and the town, Lyschevo, of the Malinskii towns."

[And I give to my Princess Evdokia] "From the appanage of Prince Iurii the settlement of Sukhodol' with Ystia, Istervaia and the towns of Andreevskoe and Kamenskoe. From the appanage of Prince Andrei, Vereia, Chislovo and the town, Lytsinskoe on the river Iauza, including the mill.[62] From the appanage of Prince Peter, Izhvo and Siama. After the end of the life of my Princess Evdokia, those towns from the appanages of my children which I have let her have [during her lifetime]—all these towns and lands will revert to my children. It belongs to the one in whose appanage it is located."

And then he gave to the Princess the following income estates: the Skermenovskoe settlement with Shepkov, Smoliany and the Mitiaevskii New Field with its apiaries, as well as the apiary of Vyshgorod; Kropivna, with the following apiaries: Krapivenskii, Imenskii, Kordoshevskii and Rudskii; the Zalesskoe settlement; and the Kuzovskoe settlement with their apiaries, as well as the Khorobryi's town of Ivanovo, together with the Iskonskoe settlement.

"Whatsoever for my Princess wife by me was purchased and whatsoever she has possessed will belong to her, my Princess. And those places and settlements in which my clerks have been, now the clerks of my wife will be in the same places as it used to be under me. The place, Likhna, bought by me for my wife, remains hers. Then in my part of Kolomna, my newly acquired place, Samoiletsov,with its villages; the Savel'evo new field; the towns of Mikulinskoe, Babashevo and Oslebiatevskoe; and then her own town of Repinskoe, which she purchased, is hers. And out of the towns of the Muscovite land, hers are the town of Semchinskoe with the Khodynka mill; the towns Ostaf'ievo and Ilmovskoe. And out of the Iur'iev towns, hers are the towns of Petrovo, Frolovskoe and Elokh; Kholkhl and Zaechko also remain hers. The places Suda

62. In *Nik.* More correctly, *Luchynskoe.*

1389 and Kolachka, with the latter's settlement, which Princess Feodosia gave me out of her estate, will become my Princess's property after [Feodosia's] passing. All these income estates will become the properties of my wife-Princess with my blessing, and my wife-Princess may do whatsoever she wishes with all these income estates. She may give it to a son, she may leave it [to the church after her passing], for memorial services, and my children have not to interfere in her decision. And those properties pertaining to the Princess' town, Lutsinskoe, which were taken by my cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, will revert to my Princess, to her town, Lutsinskoe.

"In the case because of his sins God should take one of my sons, then my Princess should divide his appanage among the survivors. And whatsoever she gives to them, so be it; and our children have not to contest her decision.

"And now you, my children, those who are the junior of Prince Vasilii: honor and heed your senior brother, Prince Vasilii, who should be [head] in place of me, your father. And Prince Vasilii, also, should not offend my son, Iurii, and the other junior sons, but treat them really as brothers.

"And concerning my cousin, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, he will care for his third of our domain which he received with the blessing of his father, Andrei Ivanovich.

"And those of my boyars who will be willing to serve my Princess should be respected by my children.

"Live, my children, in peace and concord, and God's mercy and that of the Most Pure Theotokos and [the prayers] of all the saints, as well as my blessing, will be with you."

And he passed away on the nineteenth day of May, a Wednesday of the Fifth Week after Easter in the second hour of the night. On Thursday they carried the body to the holy church of the great Archangel Michael, where were the tombs of his father, his grandfather and his great grandfather; over his body they intoned the usual funeral chants, and they buried him in his tomb on the twentieth day of the month of May. His funeral was attended by a guest from Trebizond, the Greek Metropolitan Theognost; by Daniel, Bishop of Zvenigorod; by Sabba, Bishop of Sarai; by the venerable Abbot Sergius; by Abbot Sebastian; and by the entire Sacred Council. They buried him on the twentieth day of the month of May. At that time Pimen, Metropolitan of all Russia, was in Constantinople.

After his passing his fifth son, Ivan, also died. His sixth son was only four days old at that time. The seventh son, Danilo, who was actually the firstborn, passed away much earlier.[63] **1390**

The same year in the month of July the city of Moscow burned; the fire began in the church of St. Athanasius. It happened when people had finished their dinner, and nearly the entire city burned. Very little remained.

The same year Prince Boris Konstantinovich went to the Horde. At that time, however, Khan Tokhtamysh was waging war against Timur Aksak [Tamerlane]. Prince Boris caught up with Khan Tokhtamysh during his march and accompanied him for thirty days. Then Khan Tokhtamysh showed him his mercy and in a place called Ieruktan let him go back, ordering him to wait for him in Sarai until his own return. He, himself, marched farther to fight against the land of Tamerlane, and he conquered a distant city but did not succeed in reaching Tamerlane, himself; so he returned to his *ulus*.

THE REIGN OF GRAND PRINCE VASILII I DMITRIEVICH

The same year [6897/1389] on the fifteenth day of August, the day of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich became grand prince of Vladimir, ascending to the throne of his father, grandfather and forefathers. He was assisted by Sheih Akhmat, envoy of Khan Tokhtamysh.

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich had a disagreement with his uncle, Grand Prince Vladimir Andreevich. Prince Vladimir Andreevich, with his son, Prince Ivan, and with his senior boyars, went to his city of Serpukhov; from Serpukhov he went to Torzhok with many men, remaining there a certain time.

In the year 6898/1390. On the eleventh day of the month of April when St. Theodora of Alexandria is remembered, Pimen, Metropolitan of Russia, passed away in Constantinople, where he was buried, and his possessions were plundered by others.

The same winter on the second day of December Princess Maria, whose monastic name was Martha, dowager of Prince Andrei Ivanovich, mother of Prince Vladimir Andreevich, passed away

63. The chronicler speaks here of the fifth, sixth and the seventh sons not in order of seniority. He just points out that there were only four surviving adult sons who inherited Dmitrii's patrimony—Vasilii, Iurii, Andrei and Petr.

1390 and was buried in the church of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos in her honorable monastery on the Moat which she established with her own means during her life; and she was buried there.

The same winter after Theophany [Epiphany, January 6] Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich agreed upon peace and concord with his uncle, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, and he added to his patrimony the cities of Volok and Rzhev. The same winter on the twenty-sixth day of the month of January a son, Prince Fedor, was born to Prince Vladimir Andreevich.

The same winter Metropolitan Cyprian returned from Constantinople to Kiev after having received from the Patriarch and from the entire Sacred Council a blessing to be Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. Together with him came two Greek metropolitans—Matthew of Adrianople and Nikander of Gannou.[64] The same winter before Lent Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, went from Kiev to Moscow and, far off from the city, he was met by the grand prince's boyars; and he came to Moscow during Lent, on Sunday of the week of the Veneration of the Holy Cross [third Sunday of Lent]. He was met at the place called Kotel by Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, himself, by his mother, Grand Princess Evdokiia, by his brothers, his boyars and by all the Christians. And the Grand Prince, together with his mother, his wife, his brothers and his boyars, and with all Christians, received his blessing, and there was great rejoicing; and he went to the city of Moscow. In the church of St. Nicholas the Elder, Metropolitan Cyprian donned his episcopal vestments and went to the city of Moscow with the Sacred Council and with crosses, and he ascended to the Metropolitan See in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos [and from then on] he received his taxes as of yore. There was very great rejoicing in the city of Moscow. At that time there came with him to Moscow the above-mentioned Greek metropolitans, Matthew of Adrianople and Nikander of Gannou, as well as Theodore, Bishop of Rostov, whose See was elevated to an archbishopric by Patriarch Anthony of Constantinople, and who, therefore, was called Archbishop of Rostov. [With them came] Euphrosinius, Bishop of Suzdal'; Jeremiah, the

64. Adrianople, now Edirne, an important city in European Turkey. Gannou—unidentifiable because of unclear transliteration from Greek into Russian.

Greek bishop of Riazan'; Isaac, Bishop of Chernigov; Michael, Bishop of Smolensk; and Daniel, Bishop of Zvenigorod. Then all Russian bishops, who were assigned to their dioceses, came to Metropolitan Cyprian in Moscow and told him, "Now you, Cyprian, are Metropolitan of Russia; and you came from Kiev and ascended to your metropolia in Moscow." And so did Archbishop Theodore of Rostov, to whom the Patriarch has now granted the rank of Archbishop of Rostov; and Bishop Euphrosinius of Suzdal'; and Jeremiah, the Greek bishop of Riazan'; and Theodosius, Bishop of Turov—all did likewise. **1390**

The same spring during Lent Ivan Rodionovich Kvashnia, servant of God who [before his death] was tonsured with the monastic name, Ignatius—passed away, and he was buried in the monastery of St. Saviour on Vskhodnia.

The same year during St. Peter's fast, on the twenty-second day of the month of July at noon, a suburb of Moscow began to burn; the fire started at [the place of] a certain Armenian, Avraam, and several thousand households burned.

The same year there was a virulent plague in Novgorod the Great.

The same year the Tatars raided the principality of Riazan'.

The same year the Novgorodians held council with the Germans in order to agree on peace between them, but they did not agree on peace and went home.

ABOUT PEACE WITH THE NOVGORODIANS

The Novogorodians sent their envoys, Iurii Semionovich, grandson of Avraam, and Kiril Andrianovich, to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, and they agreed on peace as of old; and the Grand Prince sent his namestnik, Ostafii Sytyi, to Novgorod. The same year the Novgorodians, under Prince Semion Olgerdovich, waged war against Pskov, and they camped at Soltsy, whither came the envoys of Pskov; and they agreed on peace. They agreed on [the problems of] the creditors, the serfs, the slaves and those who campaigned along the Volga. And Pskov agreed not to support them but turned them over.

Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich took Nizhnii Novgorod and drove out the prince and princess; but Prince Semion Dmitrievich went to the Horde.[65]

65. The translation of this paragraph follows the account found only in *Ms. Acad. XVII.—Ed.*

1391 The same year the people of Novgorod built a monastery of St. Nicholas over the ossuary in the section of Chudinova street.[66] The same year the people of Novgorod erected on Ianev street a stone church dedicated to St. Constantine and St. Helen, and it was consecrated by John, Lord Archbishop of Novgorod. The same year another stone church dedicated to St. Constantine and St. Helen was erected in Novgorod in Rostkina street.[67] The same year there was a virulent plague in Novgorod and its symptoms were in the glands; after three days' sickness the people would die.[68]

In the year 6899/1391. [6898/1390 in *Novg. Kom.*] The Novgorodians with their lord Archbishop erected a church dedicated to St. Athanasius. They built it in one day and Archbishop John consecrated it and celebrated a church service. Then, thanks to God's mercy, the plague stopped; and this happened in the month of November.

The same fall during St. Philip's fast[69] the Tatars raided the principality of Riazan'.

The same fall the boyars of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich—Aleksandr Polé, Aleksandr Beleut and Selivan—came from beyond the sea, from the Germans[70] to Pskov and then to Novgorod with Princess Sofia, the daughter of Vitovt Keistutovich. With her came Prince Ivan Olgimantovich. They came to Moscow during St. Philip's fast, the first day of the month of December, and Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich married her on the ninth day of the month of January.

The same winter, three days after Christmas, Osei, the tutor of the Grand Prince, was struck while in Kolomna.

The same winter after Theofany, on the ninth day of January, Sunday, when the holy martyr Polyeuctus is remembered, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich married the daughter of Vitovt Keistutovich. Vitovt at that time was in the German [Teutonic Order] land because he fled thither from Lithuania after the murder of

66. In *Novg. Kom.*: over the ossuary of Liugoshch street at Chudintsevo.

67. In Novg. Kom., only one church of St. Constantine and St. Helen is mentioned.

68. This was a continuation of the Black Death, the Bubonic Plague of the years 1340–1360.

69. This fast begins on November 14.

70. *Nemtsy*: here is meant the land of the Teutonic Order, later called *Prussia*.

his father, Keistut. His father, Keistut Gediminovich, wanted to be **1391**
grand prince of Lithuania under Iagailo Olgerdovich[71] and there were conspiracies and fierce fighting. Keistut Gediminovich was killed and therefore his son, Vitovt, fled at once to the German land, [where he] organized many German raids against Lithuania. He gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Vasilii with great joy because, together with his son-in-law, he wanted to fight Lithuania from all sides. And so Grand Prince Vasilii was married to Sofia Vitovtovna in Moscow by Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia.

The same winter at the demand of Cyprian, Metropolitan of Russia, a charter about the [ecclesiastic court] trials came to Novgorod the Great; it was signed by the hand of Patriarch Antonius of New Rome [Constantinople], as well as by the hand of the following metropolitans: metropolitans of Nikodemia, of Nicea, of Chalcedon, of Monevasia, of Adrianople, of Serbia, of Gannou and Dram.[72]

The same year Cyprian, Metropolitan of Russia, was invited to Tver'. On Easter Day he went to Tver' and both Greek metropolitans were with him—Matthew of Adrianople and Nikander of Gannou. Also with them were Michael, Bishop of Smolensk, and Stephen, Bishop of Perm. Prince Aleksandr, grandson of Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich, went with boyars thirty versts beyond the city of Tver' in order to greet Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, with great and high honor. The next day Prince Ivan, the senior son of Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', with boyars went twenty versts beyond the city of Tver' in order to meet Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, with great and high honor. The third day, Saturday, after vespers, Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', himself, with princes and boyars, went five versts beyond the city of Tver' to meet Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, with great and high honor. The Metropolitan came out of his tent to meet the Grand Prince, blessed Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich, embraced him kindly and they both sat and discussed spiritual subjects.

On the morrow the Grand Prince, himself, with his children, nephews and boyars, went to meet Metropolitan Cyprian at

71. Keistut was the brother of Olgerd, Iagailo's father.

72. At that time the Novgorodian ruling strata were unwilling to accept the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan, and, especially, to pay the court fees and taxes.

1391 Peremir, and from thence they went to the city; before Vladimir's Gate at the church of the holy martyr George, they were met [by a procession] with crosses, and they venerated the holy crosses and venerable icon of the Most Pure Theotokos. Then Metropolitan Cyprian donned the apostolic vestments and started serving a *Te Deum*[73] to the Great Saviour and His Most Pure Mother, the Theotokos. And he entered the church of the Great Saviour, commanded that communion bread be prepared and served the holy liturgy. After the end of the holy liturgy the Grand Prince with his children and his nephews invited him to come to a banquet with guests, with the Greek metropolitans, with other bishops, with monks, boyars, squires and all who had attended [the church service]. Then the Grand Prince rendered great honor to Metropolitan Cyprian, presented gifts to him, offered him a great solemn dinner and gave him more gifts. And he honored him for three days.

On the fourth day there assembled at the Grand Prince's the archimandrites, abbots, presbyters, deacons and all the clergy, monks and nuns: then he summoned his boyars and brought both groups, the Sacred Council and the lay council—together in the same place, and sent for Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia. Then they began to complain about their bishop, Euthemius Vislen' of Tver',[74] and about his quarrels and dissent in the church.

Metropolitan Cyprian of all Russia, together with the bishops, with the entire Sacred Council, and with the guests, the Greek metropolitans, formed a court and deliberated according to the divine and holy rules of the Apostles and Holy Fathers. There was much calumny against Euthemius, Lord Bishop of Tver', and everyone rose up against him, calumniating him. The archimandrites, abbots, priests, monks, boyars, dignitaries and the common people all participated in this. Metropolitan Cyprian, together with the holy council, investigated according to the holy rules of the Holy Apostles and Holy Fathers, and ordered that Bishop Euthemius come alone without his clergy until they reach a conclusion, after investigation. The Grand Prince, however, requested another bishop, and so Metropolitan Cyprian with the Sacred Coun-

73. In Russian, *moleben'*: a church service; litanies and hymns, for peace and health, or celebrated before a journey. It can also be a thanksgiving service.

74. See *Rogoz*, p. 160; in *Nik.* the bishop is mentioned only under his lay name, Vislen'.

cil removed Bishop Euthemius Vislen' [from his See] and gave [as bishop] his own protodeacon, Arsenius, an excellent, noble and virtuous man, to Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich. He endeavored to bring about peace and concord between the Grand Prince and his Bishop Euthemius, but there was neither peace nor concord, only enmity, and great strife arose. And so they spoke much calumny about Bishop Euthemius Vislen', which was untenable, and there was great enmity and very evil discord. Cyprian became vastly embarrassed and was unable to halt the strife or bring about peace and concord. **1391**

The same year Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, returned to Moscow, taking with him from Tver' Bishop Euthemius Vislen' of Tver', whom he ordered to abide in his own metropolitan monastery of the Holy Miracles [of St. Archangel Michael] which was inside the city of Moscow. Together with him, his protodeacon, Arsenius, came to Moscow because he feared to accept the bishopric in Tver', seeing the enmity there and deep strife. He grew saddened and horrified.

The same year Khan Tokhtamysh sent his son, Berkut, to wage war against Viatka.[75] Marching, he took Viatka, massacred the people, took others captive and brought them to Khan Tokhtamysh in the Horde.

The same year a powerful khan of the Shemakha land[76] waged war against Khan Tokhtamysh and there was a great battle; and so Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich fled from the Khan beyond the river Iaik, then returned to his patrimony, to Moscow. Thereafter an envoy came from the Horde, the khan's son, Ulan. He invested Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich in the grand principality [of Vladimir].

The same year three Tatar nobles of the khan's chamber, wanting to be of the Christian faith, petitioned the Grand Prince to accept them in his service. Their names were Bakhty Khodzha, Kedyr Khodzha and Mamat Khodzha. The Metropolitan baptized them and gave them in holy baptism the names, Ananaia, Azaria and Misail. There was great joy and everyone glorified God.

75. Viatka: a Russian city and settlements on the Viatka river in northeastern Russia. It was virtually a small, independent republic till 1402, under the Grand Princes of Moscow.

76. Shemakha was the capital of a Moslem realm in Transcaucasia, of which Tamerlane was already ruler. The war took place in Central Asia. "Iaik" is the old name for the Ural river.

1391 The same year Vitovt Keistutovich came from the German land [of the Teutonic Order] into Lithuania, where he campaigned widely and killed many people by artillery.

The same year Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich enlarged the fortifications of Novyi Gorodok on the Volga from the side of the shore and they dug a moat there; in Tver' they completed building the gate near the church of St. Basil.

The same year Vitovt Keistutovich hired a large German force, and with these Germans he waged war on Vilna but was unable to take it and returned to the German land [of the Teutonic Order]. Many Lithuanians and Germans were killed by artillery guns.

The same year the people of Novgorod and Ustiug, as well as others who joined them, went down the river Viatka toward Niz[77] in large boats and in *ushkui* boats. They took the cities of Zhukotin and Kazan'.[78] They went on the Volga and robbed all merchants there, and so they returned to their places with vast booty and wealth.

The same year Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich [of Tver'] sent his boyars with a petition to Moscow to Metropolitan Cyprian of all Russia, asking him to come to him in Tver'. Cyprian went to Tver' and with him came two Greek guest metropolitans—Matthew and Nikander—as well as Michael, Bishop of Smolensk; Daniel, Bishop of Zvenigorod; and Stephen, Bishop of Perm'. At the same time they were joined there by Jeremiah, Bishop of Riazan'.

The Grand Prince [of Tver'] greatly rejoiced at the arrival of the Metropolitan. With great difficulty they persuaded the Metropolitan's protodeacon, Arsenius, to become bishop in Tver', the latter being afraid of enmity and continuous strife; however, he was consecrated bishop of Tver' on the fifteenth day of the month of August. From thence Cyprian went from Tver' to Novgorod the Great and, together with him, were Jeremiah, the Greek bishop of Riazan', and Daniel, bishop of Zvenigorod. They came to Novgorod and were met at the church of the Great Saviour in Nereditsa by John, Archbishop of Novgorod, and [a procession] with crosses, by

77. *Niz* usually denotes the land between the upper Volga and the Oka rivers, as well as the region in its vicinity.

78. Zhukotin and Kazan' were originally Bulgar cities not far from the estuary of the river Kama (a tributary of the Volga). By the end of the fourteenth century the kernel of the Bulgar territory was already thoroughly Tatarized.

the entire Sacred Council, and all Novgorodians, from small to the old. For a residence they gave him the estate near the church of St. John the Precursor, and he was honored for a week by John, Archbishop of Novgorod, with the Novgorodians, and he received many gifts. 1391

The eighth day, Sunday, Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, celebrated the divine liturgy in the cathedral of Holy Sophia; concluding the divine service, he came to the ambo with the venerable and lifegiving Cross and instructed the people of Novgorod there at the ambo, standing with the Cross; but they would not accept his instruction, closed their ears, being hard-hearted and disobedient like serpents, and even they did not accept his blessing. And so he departed from them, changing his blessing into a curse. Then the Metropolitan asked for the monthly taxes[79] but the Novgorodians responded in one voice, "We pledged on the cross unanimously not to go to the Metropolitan's court so that the Metropolitan not try us; and for this purpose, we signed a charter and sealed it, and we [wrote down] our souls' thoughts and we sealed them with the seal."[80]

Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, answered them, "You have been inspired by Satan's cunning not to accept authority, fees or taxes, which are sacred and divine and were assigned by God from the very beginning [of the church]. Are you not ashamed to say such things in my presence? Repent of this sin and ask pardon for your lawlessness because you have been seduced by Satan. Turn, repentant, to God with all your hearts and Lord God will forgive you this sin and will be merciful to you. Then I will release you from your pledge on the cross [not to pay taxes] and I will destroy your seals and charters. I will bless and pardon you because my grace was given me by God, the Father, and His Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Most Holy and Lifegiving Spirit. You should accept my judgment and give over the fees and taxes which were determined from the very beginning [of the Russian church] under other metropolitans, and which are imposed for God. We

79. Fees of the ecclesiastic court.

80. This was an argument about the taxes and fees paid to the Metropolitan's court for trials of the Novgorodian clergy and other ecclesiastic cases. The Novgorodians, obviously inspired by the Strigolniks' ideology, refused to pay them to the Metropolitan.

1391 ask the same as was imposed on you for God from the very beginning in this great Conciliar Apostolic Metropolitan Church, and this should not be denied or changed from generation to generation."

They did not listen, however, to the Metropolitan or heed his words and instructions, neither the charter of Patriarch Antonius, and they did not care in the least for their teachings because they were inspired by pride, speaking shamelessly what they had been taught by Satan. Metropolitan Cyprian, however, told them, "I, myself, am sinful but I pray for you to the Lord God and Most Pure Theotokos and all the saints. I disciplined and instructed you and I advise you that what is pleasing to God is beneficial for your salvation; but you have hardened your hearts, resisted the Holy Spirit and offended the teachings of the Apostles and Fathers. And you have appropriated unto yourselves the taxes and fees of the Metropolitan's court which are meant for God and imposed on you. Your tongues have used unblessed names, which are blasphemous and inimical to the Holy Spirit and to the Orthodox Christian faith. I have offered you the way of salvation and have advised you, and now I proclaim that you are interdicted, and this is the severest punishment—which is your excommunication [from the church.]"

And so Metropolitan Cyprian left Novgorod without blessing their Archbishop, John, as well as the other Novgorodians, because of their insubordination, hard hearts and resistance, because they trampled upon what was imposed by God and offended Orthodoxy, and they used unblessed names with their unfaithful tongues.

The same year there was a very heavy plague with boils in Novgorod and in all its lands.[81] It happened as the Prophet said: "People who do not obey or do not listen to what their overseer—or, so to say, teacher—says, will have their own blood on their head; but the overseer will preserve his own soul from torments." The Lord preached to these people with the lips of His servants, their pastors and teachers; but they became hardened by disobedience and had to accept revenge.

The same year the Germans came from beyond the sea, waged

81. Probably, this was another wave of the Bubonic plague in the fourteenth century, which struck all Europe and was known as the "Black Death."

war against the Novgorodian lands and towns, causing much harm, **1392**
and returned to their own land.

The same year Prince Iurii Vsevolodich of Kholm[82], grandson of Aleksandr, great grandson of Mikhail, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav Iaroslavich, married, and the wedding took place in Tver', in the church of the Great Saviour. It was performed by Archbishop Arsenius, the former protodeacon of Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia.

The same year Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' married his son in Moscow to the daughter of Fedor Koshka, son of Andrei Sobakin.[83] And they were married in Tver' by Bishop Arsenius in the church of the Great Saviour.

The same year Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod returned from the Horde, from Khan Tokhtamysh to his patrimony, with the charter to be prince there in the land of Nizhnii Novgorod.

The same year the Tatars raided the land of Riazan'.

In the year 6900/1392. Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, consecrated Theodosius Bishop of Polotsk.

The same fall Grand Princess Iuliania, dowager of Olgerd Gediminovich, daughter of Grand Prince Aleksandr of Tver', granddaughter of Mikhail, great granddaughter of Iaroslav Iaroslavich, died in Lithuania after having taken monastic vows, and she received the monastic name of Marina. She was buried in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev.

The same fall Euthemius Vislen', former bishop of Tver', passed away in the Mosastery of the Miracles in Moscow; Metropolitan Cyprian had ordered him to live in his monastery, in which he passed away, and he was buried there behind the altar.

The same fall there was a battle between Khan Tokhtamysh and Khan Aksak Temir [Tamerlane]. Khan Tokhtamysh was defeated and a large number of his warriors were massacred by Khan Aksak Temir.

THE *VITA* OF SAINT SERGIUS

Introductory Note

No other Russian saint was so revered, enjoyed such popularity or had so great an impact as did Saint Sergius (1314–1392). His ascetic life,

82. Kholm was a minor principality in the Tver' land.

83. Fedor Koshka was one of the ancestors of the later Romanov dynasty (1613–1917).

1392 his mysticism, his love for God and for people extremely impressed the Russians. Already during his life the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, which he founded in the mid-fourteenth century, became a center of pilgrimage for countless Russians. For centuries it remained the most cherished and beloved sanctuary of that country, and even at the present time, under the Soviet regime, a visitor to the Monastery is deeply impressed by the large number of devout Orthodox pilgrims who come to the shrine of Saint Sergius from all parts of Russia. One of the leading and important historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, V. Kliuchevsky, called Saint Sergius the "educator of the Russian spirit," and he definitely deserved this description.

St. Sergius' *Life* was written in the early fifteenth century by the most outstanding Russian medieval writer, Epiphanius the Wise, who was also the author of the *Life* of St. Stephen of Perm. While the latter *vita*, however was preserved intact, the *Vita* of St. Sergius, in view of its length, was considerably shortened and remodelled by Pakhomius Logofet, a professional *vita* writer who emigrated from Serbia to Russia, where he wrote a large number of *Lives* of the Russian saints. Up to now scholars discuss which of the preserved manuscripts of St. Sergius' *vita* is the most original and closest to the text written by Epiphanius the Wise.

One authority on Old Russian literature, V. P. Zubov, in his article, "Epifanii Premudryi i Pakhomii Serb" (*TODRL*, Vol. IX, 1953, esp. p. 150), states his belief that the text of *The Nikonian Chronicle* preserves a large number of details and stylistic peculiarities of the vanished text of Epiphanius', and is probably closest to the original. This is the reason why the present editor decided to translate and preserve in this edition this text of the *Vita of St. Sergius*, despite the fact that there have already been several English translations of this *vita*. Yet, none has preserved the many details and stylistic features which are found in the *Nikonian* text of it.

St. Sergius' *vita* is very important for understanding Russian monastic and spiritual development in the fourteenth century. To a considerable degree it also reflects the Russian religious and cultural renaissance which started in the mid-fourteenth century and which is represented at its best by the life and work of St. Sergius, St. Cyril of Belozero, the writings of Epiphanius the Wise, and the icons and frescoes of Rublev and Dionysius. The Holy Trinity Monastery of St. Sergius became a center from which the monastic movement spread throughout all Russia, and scores upon scores of new monasteries were founded which constituted, at the same time, spiritual and cultural institutions. St. Sergius, himself, represented the contemplative type of monasticism, usually connected with the Hesychast (from Gr., "silence") movement in the Near East; but we can find the same kind of contemplative monastic way in the life of the founder of the Kievan Cave Monastery, St. Anthony (eleventh century).

Epiphanius—who, himself, lived in St. Sergius' monastery—wrote his *Life* in 1417–1418. It is possible that he knew St. Sergius; but, in any case, he had the opportunity to discuss St. Sergius' personality and obtain information about him from persons who themselves lived in the monastery during St. Sergius' life.

In the expression of D. S. Likhachev, the *Life* belonged to the school of "abstract psychologism." The author keenly describes the deepest and finest movements of the mind and heart of his hero but simultaneously is interested primarily in St. Sergius' religious development. This approach to the main hero of the narrative is quite new in Russian literature but it is still strictly subordinated to the metaphysical worldview of his time. Such an approach reflects not only the inner world of St. Sergius but also that of the writer, himself, as well as the spiritual mentality of their time. This approach is strongly underlined by a number of quotations from the Scriptures and from liturgical texts, which form the general framework of St. Sergius' characteristics.—*Ed.* (See Likhachev, *Kultura Rusi*, pp. 57–70.) **1392**

THE NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF VENERABLE SERGIUS

On the twenty-fifth day of September when Saint Euphrosinia is remembered, blessed Sergius, abbot of the monastery in Radonezh and Makov, passed away. He was quiet, meek and humble. I find it difficult to write extensively about the life of this man who loved God from his earliest childhood and, already at that age, would continually pray, "My God! Grant me to work for Thee from my childhood! My God, accept me, take me under Thy protection and let me be with Thy selected flock so that, for Thy Sake, I should remain forever poor. Deliver me, My Lord, from my youth, from impurities and evil, corporeal and spiritual. My Lord! Help me to follow the way of salvation and remain in awe of Thee! Let my heart rise up to Thee! I ask Thee to protect me from all earthly temptations and let me avoid all temptations of this earthly life. Let me come to Thee and have my soul accepted into Thy arms. Let me not be seduced by the beauty of this world! Help me avoid the joys of this world and fill me, My Lord, with unspeakable spiritual gladness, divine sweetness. Let Thy Spirit direct me toward the righteous world."

The older men, as well as other people, seeing such behavior on the part of this youth, marvelled, saying, "What may become of this youth whom God has endowed already from childhood with such gifts of virtue?"

[ST. SERGIUS' FATHER AND THE PRINCIPALITY OF ROSTOV]

Before we commence our narrative, however, we must speak of the following happenings. A certain Kyril lived originally in a town within the boundaries of the principality of Rostov, but a ways off from the city of Rostov. Now we must speak here of the latter's [Kyril's] migration because Kyril moved from Rostov to Radonezh,

1392 and I must write extensively concerning the circumstances of this migration, and for what reasons he moved. This aforementioned servant of God—Kyril—once used to live in a very comfortable condition in the region of Rostov. He was a boyar, one of the most noble and outstanding, having considerable wealth. Then, however, when he was veering on eld he became impoverished and very hard up; let us explain why he became impoverished. [This occurred] because of frequent journeys with his prince to the Horde, because of the Tatars' many raids into Russia, the repeated visits of the Tatar envoys [for tribute], the constant burdensome taxes and great tribute paid to the Horde, and frequent famine and bad harvests.

[He became poor and had to move] though, primarily, because of the great Tatar raid of Feodorchuk Taralykov [in 1327]. One year thereafter violence occurred because the grand principality of Moscow came under the rule of Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich [Kalita], and at that time the principality of Rostov was annexed by Moscow. Woe, woe, for the city of Rostov and its princes, who lost their patrimony, their authority, their estates, their honor and glory, for everything was turned over to Moscow!

At that time came the command of Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich, and there was dispatched from his lord in Moscow a certain voevoda named Vasilii, whose nickname was Kocheva. And with him was sent a certain Mina. When they came to Rostov they caused the city great hardship, and all those who lived there, and their persecution constantly increased. Quite a few people of Rostov were forced to turn over their possessions to the men of Moscow, whereupon they received only bodily injury and offense. These people had to depart emptyhanded, the image of dire distress, because not only were they dispossessed of everything but they were also bodily harmed, injured, wounded, physically mistreated and obliged to emigrate—or, rather, to flee.

There is no purpose, however, in discussing all the offenses inflicted upon Rostov. When even the foremost noble boyar and eparch of Rostov, named Averkii, was hanged head down, beaten and left dishonored and half-alive, terror seized all those there who witnessed this and heard of it. And this terror spread not only to Rostov but through all its region, to the countryside and to the villages.

[EMIGRATION TO RADONEZH] **1392**

In view of these misfortunes, God's servant, Kyril, decided to abandon his estate in the aforementioned region of Rostov. Taking his entire family and all his relatives, he set out from Rostov to Radonezh. Arriving there, he settled near the church named for the Holy Nativity of Christ, and this church is still there. He lived there with his family and with his kin because many of them moved together with him from Rostov to Radonezh, and so they became migrants to a new, foreign region. Among them was a certain Georgii, son of an archpriest, with his family and relatives: Ivan; Feodor Tormosov, with his family and relatives; the latter's brother-in-law, a certain Duden', also with his family and relatives; his uncle, Onisim, an important lord from Rostov who later became a deacon.

It is said that this Onisim, together with tysiatskii Protasii, came to this village by the name of Radonezh which Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich gave [as appanage] to his junior son, Andrei, from whom later was born Prince Vladimir.[84]

A certain Terentii Rtishcha was appointed namestnik and these [newcomers] were granted many advantages, as well as a significant reduction in their taxes. Thanks to these advantages, a great many people gathered there [in Radonezh], as a large number of them had fled from Rostov owing to the hardships and hostilities there.

[SERGIUS' YOUTH]

This outstandingly good youth, Bartholomew, later named Sergius—the son of outstandingly good parents whom we have already mentioned in our discussion, and who is always remembered as an ascetic zealot—indeed, had good roots, being the descendant of noble and pious parents. Certainly, good roots always bear good branches, and these good roots always leave a remarkable stamp [on the fruit]. From his early childhood he demonstrated virtues as does a rich fruit in a first-rate garden.

This youth was a good and virtuous one. While growing, he ever developed the best qualities. He did not care for any earthly attractions, rejected the vanity of this world, and he disdained,

84. Prince Vladimir Andreevich became the hero of the famous Battle of Kulikovo in 1380, when the Russians defeated the Tatars' Golden Horde for the first time. See the entry under the years 1380–1381.

1392 refuted and overcame the needs of nature. In the same way as did David, he repeated silently these words, "What profit is there in my blood when I go down to the pit?" [Psalm 30:9] Day and night he prayed uninterruptedly to God, Who is the Initial Intercessor on the path of salvation.

And his other virtues, which I have still to tell, were quietness, meekness, silence, humility, absence of anger and unsophisticated simplicity. He loved all people equally and would rise up neither in fury nor in argument. He would never become either offensive or weak, or riduicule anyone. Even when he smiled—when such an occasion would occur—he would still smile with chastity and restraint. He would walk looking downcast as if he were contemplating decrepitude. Often he would weep, and tears would course down his cheeks, thus reflecting the lamentable and sorrowful condition of this life.[85] He never ceased repeating the Psalter with his lips, he was beatified by his restraint, he enjoyed bodily mortification, he zealously accepted paltry vestments and enjoyed such more than beautiful clothes. He cared little for the vanity of this rapidly passing life. He never drank or even cared for the fragrance of beer or mead but he practiced and loved fasting, which he preferred to a tasty, heavy and luxurious meal.

He ever bore the Gospel in mind, the words of the Lord, Who said, "But take heed of yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness." [Luke 21: 34, paraph.] And [the Lord said], "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things but one thing is needed. For Mary has chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her." [Luke 10: 41–42] And in another case He [the Lord] said, "Woe unto you, ye that laugh now! For ye shall mourn and weep." [Luke 6:25] And the Apostle Paul says, "Food will not bring you before God." [I Cor. 8:8] Basil the Great says, "If you want to attain Paradise, eschew drinking." And the Lord says, "Enter ye in by the narrow gate: for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many are they that enter in thereby. For narrow is the gate and strained the way that leadeth into life and few are they that find it." [Mat. 7:13–14]

Therefore, [remembering these words] the blessed one always

85. The "gift of tears" was considered one of the highest ascetic achievements among the Eastern monks.

lived a hard life of fasting and labor, ever concerned [about his salvation]. Coming of age, he wondered what would be his destiny. **1392**

His brothers, two other sons of Kyril—Stephen and Peter—both married. The third—Bartholomew [who later became known under the monastic name of Sergius]—did not want to marry but sought greatly to be tonsured a monk and in this way to please God and to work for Him day and night with all his soul, as it is said: "I would rather be a doorkeeper in the House of My Lord than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." [Ps. 84:10] He besought his parents to let him enter upon the life of a monk but they told him, "Our child! Be patient yet awhile with our distress and poverty. You see, yourself, that we are in such straits of old age, paucity in everything and extreme poverty. Your brothers, Stephen and Peter, married and do their best to satisfy their wives; but you are still unmarried and you try to please God because you choose a better way of life which can never be taken away from you. We have neither servants nor supporters nor relatives because we let them all go. Therefore, help us yet awhile and you will receive your recompense from God."

And so he did thus, served his parents, worked for them and obeyed them with all respect, with his humble wisdom and endless patience. Shortly thereafter his parents took holy orders and passed away. The blessed one buried them with funeral chants and hymns, and for forty days he chanted the memorial service for them, as well as attended the memorial masses and prayers, and distributed alms, and fed the paupers.

After having rendered honor to the memory of his parents, he returned to his home where he had received his parents' blessing, and which was filled with spiritual wealth. Arriving, he entered upon spiritual exercise in order to avoid the sorrows of this world. But he did not care for his home or for all the possessions there, since it was said, "Be still and know I am God." [Ps. 46:10] And it is also written, "Give up all earthly possessions so as to acquire Christ-God." [II Cor. 6:17, paraph.] And it is also written, "This life is filled with many sighs and this world is full of sorrow." And the Prophet said, "Separate yourself from this congregation, do not touch anything of the impurity of this world." [Numbers 16:20] And the other Prophet said, "Give up this earth and ascend into Heaven." And David says, "My soul followeth hard after Thee. Thy right hand upholdeth me." [Ps. 63:8] And again [the Prophet] says,

1392 "I departed and settled in the wilderness, relying upon My God That saveth me." [Ps. 63:8]

And the Lord says, according to the Gospel, "If anyone comes to Me and will not renounce that which he has in the world, he can not be My disciple." [Luke 14:26]

Having strengthened his soul and mind [with these divine words], he summoned Peter, his brother according to the flesh, left to him all his inheritance from his father and gave up whatsoever there was in the house in which he lived. He did not keep anything for himself, following the Lord's Gospel, Who said, "These have I counted lost for Christ." [Phil. 3:8]

[SERGIUS BECOMES A MONK]

His senior brother, Stephen, had not lived for many years with his wife, who bore him two sons, Clement and Ivan, before she died. This Ivan, Stephen's son, later accepted the tonsure from his uncle, venerable abbot Sergius, and subsequently he was also ordained a priest and became the founder of St. Simeon Monastery on the Moskva river not far from the city [of Moscow]; but the rest of his story will be told later. After the passing of his wife, Sergius' older brother, Stephen, was tonsured a monk in the Monastery of the Holy Veil of the Most Pure Theotokos in Khot'kovo. The aforementioned youth, his junior brother, Bartholomew [later becoming monk Sergius] went to him and besought his brother, monk Stephen, who lived in this Monastery of the Holy Veil of the Most Pure Theotokos in Khot'kovo, to go with him to seek out a wilderness.

Monk Stephen did not disobey his younger brother, who was still a layman but who lived as a monk, and he went with him into the wilderness, into a great forest. In the wilderness they found a place [for their hermitage] and received from His Holiness Theognost, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, a blessing to build a church there. They also received from him an *antimens*[86] and a priest. The priest consecrated the church of the Most Holy and Lifegiving Trinity, and this happened in the time of Grand Priest Semion Ivanovich at the very beginning of his reign.[87]

86. *Antimens*, or *antimension*: a cloth with relics of the saints which is supposed to be on the altar table of every consecrated Orthodox church.

87. Semion the Proud, Grand Prince of Moscow, 1340–1353.

1392

[Soon] this elder brother, Stephen, left his brother, Bartholomew [Sergius] and the wilderness, and went to the region of Moscow to the Monastery of the Theophany. Stephen found there a cell for himself and stayed there, residing in the Monastery of the Theophany in the suburb of Moscow, adhering strictly to ascetic ways. He loved the life of hard work and activity, living in his cell, strictly fasting and continually praying, abstaining from all temptations, never drinking beer and wearing very shabby clothing.

At that time in this same monastery there lived a monk by the name of Alexis, who later became Metropolitan [of all Russia]. He also followed strictly the ways of monastic life, living virtuously in this monastery, and he exercised spiritually together with Stephen. Both sang in the choir, standing one next to the other, and chanted with great spiritual love about God, humility and patience. A certain Gerontius, an outstanding, honorable monk noted for his spirituality, lived in the same Monastery of the Theophany as did Stephen and Alexis. They were often together [chanting about] love for God, meekness and patience.

Theognost, Metropolitan of all Russia, lived there and loved them very much, and often summoned them, consoling them, enjoying their company and respecting them. He appointed Stephen, Bartholomew's elder brother, to be abbot of the Monastery of the Theophany. Grand Prince Semion Ivanovich also loved him very much because of his virtuous way of life. He very often discussed and held counsel with him, and there was great love in God between them. And so Stephen, abbot of the Monastery of the Theophany, senior brother of Bartholomew, who remained living in the wilderness, became the confessor of Grand Prince Semion Ivanovich, grandson of Danilo, great grandson of Aleksandr [Nevskii]. He also became spiritual father to tysiatskii Vasilii, to the latter's brother, Fedor, and to many other senior boyars. They all loved and honored him.

Stephen's brother, Bartholomew, who lived in the wilderness but was still a layman, while building up the church and monastery, trained himself in the monastic life while living in his hermitage. He asked an abbot by the name of Mitrophanes to come to this aforementioned hermitage, telling him, "Holy father! Be kind to me and tonsure me into the monastic order. I have wanted this since my youth but the difficult condition of my parents prevented it. Now I have become free from all [these earthly problems] and I want to live as a monk in the wilderness."

1392 Abbot Mitrophanes straightaway entered the Church of the Holy Trinity and tonsured him to the holy angelic monastic order, and this happened on the same day of the month of October when holy martyrs Sergius and Bacchus are remembered. At that time the monks were not named according to the first letters of their lay names, but according to the name of the saint whose feast day it happened to be on the day of the tonsuring. When the saint received monastic tonsure he was twenty-three years of age. In the same Church of the Holy Trinity the above-mentioned abbot Mitrophanes celebrated divine liturgy, as well as the tonsure. Blessed Sergius, the newly tonsured monk which he now became, partook of the holy Sacrament of Our Christ-God because he was worthy of receiving this holy Communion, and the gift and grace of the Holy Ghost entered into him.

But how do we know this? At that time there were reliable witnesses who said that when Sergius partook of the Holy Sacrament the entire church became filled with holy fragrance. And not only the church, itself, but even the grounds around the church. And all those who attended [the Communion] glorified God, Who glorified His saints. He, Sergius, was the first monk to be tonsured by abbot Mitrophanes in this Church of the Holy Trinity and in this hermitage.

Abbot Mitrophanes spent some time in this hermitage with venerable newly tonsured monk Sergius. He taught and instructed the new monk in the monastic life and patience, how to resist the temptations of evil, as well as the inimical and invisible host. Then, after a certain sufficient period of time, he wanted to depart. Venerable monk Sergius asked him to remain yet a little in order to be provided by him with more teaching and instruction, but abbot Mitrophanes told him, "God, Himself, will provide you with wisdom and instruct you how to observe His Commandments and live according to His Will." And so, after sojourning with Sergius, he decided to leave for his destination and, blessing him, he said, "God will bless you, as well as your joining the monastic order and your final departure, and so will it be now and ever. Amen." So said abbot Mithrophanes, then he prayed, gave Sergius his blessing, and left him, going to the same place from which he had arrived. Still, venerable Sergius asked him, "My father, pray for me and ask Lord God to help me to withstand the battles of the flesh, the temptations of the evil one, the attacks of the beasts and hardships of this

wilderness." And Mitrophanes answered, "God will protect you and will save you with His grace." 1392

After the departure of Mitrophanes, who tonsured him, venerable Sergius remained quite alone and he exercised himself in his wilderness in most ascetic deeds. And how can one sufficiently relate all his spiritual labor or the trials which he endured, living alone in the wilderness? We find it difficult to tell what his spiritual deeds were and how many hardships he had to endure, living alone a considerable period of time—certainly, many years—in the wilderness of that forest. His staunch and holy soul definitely underwent many hardships, abiding apart from people while practicing the monastic rules virtuously, zealously and faultlessly.

Whose mind or what language knows how to relate and how to put down in writing his original idea and love for God, how he observed the virtues, or what his way of spiritual improvement was? Who knows and can describe his solitude, his staunchness, his growth, his desires, the constant worship which he steadily directed to God, his hidden virtues, his warm tears of piety, his spiritual lamentation, the sighing of his heart, his night-long vigils, his penetrating chanting, his unceasing prayers, his constant standing aright [whilst praying], his studious reading, his fasting, his chastity, his abstinence from water, his prostrations to the ground [as a sign of humility], his spiritual needs, his complete poverty and his privation in all things?

[LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS]

And how much did he suffer from devils and beasts! The demons would appear in the form of snakes, reptiles, beasts, and they would come in diabolic dreams which he rejected with prayers and protection provided him by divine power.

Many beasts came to him—wolves and bears. A bear frequently came to him and Saint Sergius knew that it came not to harm him but to get some food and to console the saint from his many miseries. The saint would take the bread from his cell and place it on a log or a stump, and when the bear would come he ate it quietly and humbly and looked at the saint with joy and gaiety.

The saint would then thank God for sending him a ferocious beast because God sent it for his consolation, for the beast settled in the wilderness with him as if it were a lamb. He fed him every day, putting the bread on a log or a stump, and the bear ate it. In

1392 the wilderness the saint had a scarcity of bread but nonetheless the saint fed the bear, himself remaining hungry, because he preferred to be hungry rather than to let his companion in the wilderness be without food. The saint liked to stay silent, and for this reason he ventured to go into the wilderness, where he remained alone in silence. He did thus because he tasted the divine sweetness of silence and did not want to relinquish it.

And so he remained alone in complete silence for two or three years. Thereafter, however, the monks living in his vicinity began to visit him—at first, just one, then two or three of them. And they entreated him, saying, "Father! Accept us, for we want to live and save our souls together with you."

But the saint could not give up the sweetness of silence and abstinence from speech, and was unwilling to accept them. He realized, however, how difficult and hard it is to live a life in the wilderness. They would come to him happily but later would leave him grudgingly, in the same way as some disciples of Christ-God told Him how hard His teaching is, and who is able to follow Him?

[MORE MONKS COME TO RADONEZH]

The aforementioned caloyers, however, were full of faith and diligence and entreated him, beseeching him with tears, to accept them. The saintly one wondered at their faith and humility and remembered the words of the Lord, Who said, "I will not cast out those who cometh to Me. For where two or three are gathered in My Name, there I am in the midst of them." [John 6:3; Math. 18:70] And King David said, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." [Ps. 133:1] And Solomon said, "Woe to him who is alone. Do not veer to the right or to the left but go directly along the royal way." This means to live together in silence with two or three others. If it is God's will that there be many, so let the will of God be. [And so he said:] "Who am I to resist the will of God? I accept with joy those who come with faith to work for God and endeavor in this place for the sake of their salvation and promise of future blessing. You have only, yourself, to work to build yourselves cells. But first of all you must be aware that this wilderness is hard and cruel, hungry and poor. Those who want to live in this place must be prepared not to have food or drink, to remain here not for rest, joy or gaiety but for

labor and fasting, sorrow, sadness and misfortune. It is written, 1392
'My child, when you begin to work for God, prepare your soul for misfortune and brave patience.' [Sirach 2.1] And the Apostle says, 'You must enter the Kingdom of Heaven through many sorrows'. [Acts 14.22] And the Lord says in the Gospel, 'The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the men of violence take it by force.' [Math. 11:12] Strengthen your souls with patience and whosoever can endure to the end will be saved."

With joy and diligence they promised to do that, saying, "Whatsoever you command, we will in no way disobey you." And they built their cells in which, with the blessing of the saint, they abode willingly, silently and alone. And so they lived with him for the sake of God, following the life of the saint and, so far as they could, sought to follow his example. And such was his life: fasting, little to drink, eating dry food, sleeping on a hard cot, wakefulness, physical and spiritual purity, silence of the lips, constant physical work, mortification of the flesh, quietness, meekness, genuine obedience, incessant prayer, well-minded contemplation, perfect love, peniable clothing, endless poverty, permanent thought of death, and uninterrupted awe of God. The beginning of all wisdom is awe of God, just as the beginning of berries and all fruits is the bloom. In the same way awe of God is the beginning of every virtue.

He developed in his mind awe of God, and in this way protected himself. He learned God's covenant day and night, and it [understanding of the divine Commandments] developed in his mind in the same way as a fruit tree fed by water provides its fruit in due time. [Ps. 1:3, paraph.] Since he was young and strong in flesh, because he had as powerful a body as two men, the devil wanted to strike him with his arrows of temptation; but the venerable one, realizing the assaults of evil, kept his body under control and fought temptation with fasting. So, thanks to divine grace, he avoided temptation and learned how to use this weapon against the attacks of evil. Devils wanted to hit him with the arrows of sin but the venerable one, with a heart of righteousnes, shot them down with the arrows of purity.

Although he lived with the other brethren monks, he was not yet ordained a priest. Still he attended the divine church with them and every day chanted [all the services] in the church with his brethren: the midnight service, matins and the hours—the third,

1392 sixth and ninth; also, vespers and *nefimon*.[88] They did as it is said, "Every day seven times we glorify Thee for Thy righteousness." Between these frequent services they still practiced constant prayer to God in the church and in their cells. As the Apostle Paul said, "Pray God without ceasing." [I Thess. 5:11] For the liturgy they would invite some presbyter from a nearby village or an abbot from a monastery, and he would celebrate the divine liturgy. At first Sergius, because of his great and endless humility, did not want to be ordained a priest or to become an abbot because he wanted to imitate Our Lord God, Jesus Christ, Who Himself gave an example to those who would [later] want to imitate Him and follow Him, Who said, "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you and lean on Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart." [Math. 11:28–29]

Twelve monks gathered there [around Sergius] and among them the foremost were the following: first, there was Basil, called "Sukhi," who came from Verkdubna. Another was Jacob, called Iakuta. He was [Sergius'] emissary and was sent to provide various necessities without which it would have been impossible to live and endure. The third was Onisim, who was a deacon and father of another deacon whose name was Eliseus.

The cells were built and surrounded by not very extensive walls, and in the gate they put a gatekeeper. Within these walls Sergius, himself, built three or four cells with his own hands. But he also worked at all the other monastic labors which were needed for the brethren, and so he served them. Sometimes he would bring logs from the woods on his own shoulders. Sometimes he would chop the wood and carry it to the brethrens' cells. Sometimes he would cultivate [the fields] and thrash and mill [grain] and bake [bread]. He would cook and prepare meals for the brethren monks. He would cut and sew the brethrens' footwear and clothing. He would get water for them from the brook and carry it [in two buckets] over his shoulder and distribute it among the cells. At night he would remain awake usually, praying and reading, and he was never idle. His food consisted of bread and water, though

88. *Nefimon* (Greek, *Methimon*): Second, late, vespers; most especially, the late vesper celebrated from Monday to Thursday of the first week of Lent. *Methimon* means "God with us." Those are the first words read during this service. *Roty*, 62.

not enough for satiety. He would exhaust his body with a strict diet **1392**
and work in order to avoid lust, control the flesh and fight the evil one's temptations. In such a way he always progressed to greater and greater spiritual attainments. He cared greatly for the needs of his monastic wilderness and in order to make his labor profitable he would always walk with a psalm on his lips: "I have set the Lord always before me because He is at my right hand and I shall not be moved." [Psalm 16:8] He always worked, sweating profusely, mortifying his flesh, and he would go to sleep thinking about Heaven, not caring for earthly life, which he considered refuse.

The aforementioned abbot Mitrophanes, who tonsured blessed Sergius, left the wilderness after one year but some years later he returned to blessed Sergius, his former pupil, to his monastic wilderness and he lived there and performed the church services as priest. Once he fell ill, and after being unwell for some time he passed away from this short-lived existence and went to the Lord. He was a pious and exemplary man adorned by fair white hair.

[REVEREND SERGIUS BECOMES ABBOT]

The reverend Sergius became very sad because of the latter's passing and he prayed God to give another abbot to this monastic wilderness. While he grieved and prayed to God for another abbot, the brethren assembled, deliberated and came to the venerable one, saying, "Father! We can not continue without an abbot. You must become a priest and you will be the abbot of this place, our shepherd and our father. And we will come to you for atonement, confessing our sins, and you will remit our sins and we will receive your blessing on all days. We will see you celebrating the liturgy and will receive communion from your hands." He refused to accept this but the brethren importuned him twice and thrice, sometimes quietly and gently, sometimes insistently, with strong speech, complaining and beseeching. He, however, possessing a strong soul, staunch faith and a humble mind, did not accept either the gentle words or their insistence; rather, considering himself simple and undeserving, he said, "Who am I? How can I dare to do such things [celebrate the Eucharist] while even the angels do not dare with fear, trembling and awe to celebrate them [the Sacraments]! So how can I, a sinful and unworthy man, dare to do such things? My mind does not agree with your minds because, despite the fact that you strongly prevail upon me to become abbot, I refuse and want

1392 to remain in this place of study, not to teach others, and to be under the guidance of someone else rather than to be your guide."

The brethren wanted then to disperse and depart; therefore, being obliged, he told them, "What you ask me is beyond my abilities; but since you force me, may the will of God be done." Following their will, he said, "In case God is willing and the Bishop agrees, then I will not resist your insistence. Let us go to the city of Pereiaslavl' to Bishop Athanasius of Volynia."

At that time Metropolitan Alexis was in Constantinople and he ordered Bishop Athanasius of Volynia to serve in his place in the city of Pereiaslavl'. Sergius went to him, taking two elders along. He made the customary obeisance before the bishop. The latter, having learned about Sergius, about the founding of his monastery and about his worthy life, spoke with him of spiritual matters and inquired the reason for his coming. Then he, Sergius, began to ask him to appoint an abbot to his newly-founded monastery. Bishop Athanasius told him, "You are supposed to be abbot of this monastery." Sergius answered, "Oh, Bishop of God, I know that I am unworthy, but I do not dare disobey you. Since God so wills, I hope that your holy prayers will help my insufficiency."

The bishop entered the church, donned ecclesiastic vestments and ordered Sergius to say, "I believe in One God . . . ." When he finished he crossed him, read the sacramental prayers and then elevated him first to reader, then to sub-deacon and then to deacon. The next day he ordained him to priestly orders. The third day reverend Sergius, together with Bishop Athanasius, celebrated divine services. The bishop taught him according to the holy rules and divine scripture, and according to the writings of the Holy Apostle Paul, that he must care for the difficulties of the weak, not care for himself, and do his best for each one of us. And he (Apostle Paul) wrote to Timotheus, saying, "The things which thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others, also." [II Tim. 2:2.] And, "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ." [Gal. 6:2] And he [the bishop] added, "By doing thus you will find your salvation, as well as that of those with you." He told him other instructive words, embraced him in Christ and, having done everything spiritual, he let him go.

And so with God's grace he became priest and abbot, although he did not want to have the power or position of abbot. He did

not seek it. He did not take it from anyone else. He did not promise any compensation to anyone. He did not pay for it, as some others do—those who like rank and position and who try to advance faster than others, twisting and seizing without understanding scripture, wherein it is said, "It is not of him that willest, nor of him that runnest but of God that has mercy." [Rom. 9:16] Reverend [Sergius] returned to his monastery, where he was met by the brethren bowing down to the ground before him. He, however, entered the church, fell face down upon the ground, shedding tears, praying to Lord Christ, to the Most Pure Theotokos and to the heavenly holy bodyless powers, to St. John [the Precursor], to the Apostles, to the great luminaries: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom, asking God to provide him with daring and boldness to appear before the throne of glory and make the bloodless sacrifice for the sake of his sins and for the unknown sins of men. **1392**

He addressed the brethren. "Brethren! Be strong. Learn how to enter the narrow gate. We all need access to the heavenly kingdom, and those who need it will receive it. And the Apostle says, 'The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, humility, longsuffering, kindness, faith, goodness, meekness and self-control.' " [Gal. V, 22] He spoke few words but taught how to act. When he was standing and praying, devils who envied him would sometimes appear, looking like beasts, sometimes like snakes, apparently with the intention of frightening him, and they did thus whether he was in his cell or walking in the forest or cutting wood or collecting wood for the needs of the monastery. But he would defeat them with prayer and the power of the cross.

At that time there were twelve monks besides the abbot. And thus it continued for two or three years. Sometimes one of them would depart or abandon the monastery or pass to God and then in his place another would be accepted, so that their number would not diminish.

After a certain time the aforementioned Simeon, about whom we already spoke, approached the saint. This Simeon was the oldest archimandrite in Smolensk and he was outstanding and honest. He shone with all virtues and he gave up his monastery, honor and glory, his birthplace and his relatives and friends. He made a pilgrimage from Smolensk into the region of Moscow or, more exactly, of Radonezh. He came to the monastery bringing to reverend abbot

1392 Sergius considerable estates and wealth, which he turned over to him for the purpose of building a monastery. And he lived there for many years in humility and virtue, observing a very strict life. At a venerable old age he appeared before God. Reverend Sergius bore him honor and celebrated "Memory Eternal" for him.[89]

[STEPHEN RETURNS TO RADONEZH]

Thereafter the aforementioned Stephen, Sergius' brother, also came. He came from the city of Moscow, abandoning his monastery of the Holy Theophany, in which he was abbot. He was also the spiritual father of Grand Prince Semion Ivanovich, of tysiatskii Vasilii, and of the senior boyars and lords, and he was greatly honored and respected by the Grand Prince and by everyone. He came to the monastery of his younger brother, the reverend abbot Sergius in Radonezh, bringing with him his junior son named Ivan, a young man twelve years old. He entered the church and turned over his son to his brother, abbot Sergius, asking him to tonsure his son into the monastic order. Abbot Sergius tonsured him and gave him the monastic name of Theodore. At that time they used to give a monastic name not beginning with the same letter as the lay name but according to the name of the saint whose memory was celebrated on the day of the tonsuring. It was the day of St. Theodore of Trichina and therefore they gave him the monastic name of Theodore, and he learned from his uncle, Sergius, all the virtues of monastic life and everyone marvelled, seeing him. More will be spoken about him farther on.

Many people from different cities and lands also came to him, to Sergius. Some of them were already monks, some were laymen who wanted to be tonsured. Reverend Sergius would not refuse anyone, neither old nor young, neither wealthy nor poor; but he accepted everyone eagerly and tonsured them with joy. Before the tonsuring, however, he would order them to don a long cloak made of black wool, and in such a coat they would sojourn with the brethren a rather long time until they became accustomed thereto and learned all the monastic rules. After that they would be clothed in the robe of a monk and would participate and learn all the monastic service. Only then would he tonsure them, clothing them

89. "Memory Eternal": a hymn sung during a funeral and memorial service.

in the monastic coat and cowl. When someone would be cognizant of the monastic rules and particularly keen in pure life, such a person would be permitted to accept the holy tonsure. Sergius' monastery became known and honored everywhere, not only in Radonezh. And how did this place start and come into being? Before on this place there was only forest, a deep wood, a wilderness in which hares, foxes, wolves and bears lived. Indeed, the bears sometimes visited and consoled the saint and would eat the bread which he left on a stump or in some other place near the saint's cell. 1392

After he was elevated to abbot, he celebrated divine liturgy every day and himself baked the communion bread, milled the wheat, sieved flour, and put yeast into the dough. So he baked the communion bread and celebrated divine liturgy after his virtuous labor. Although very many brethren wanted to bake the communion bread, he would not let them do so because reverend Sergius wanted to be not only a teacher but also a worker. He, himself, prepared the monastic meals, made candles and celebrated vespers. Although he accepted the position of abbot, the power and honor to decide and lead, he did not give up his basic rule, remembering God's words, "One who wants to be the senior should be the most junior and the servant of all." And so, observing the Savior's teaching, he humbled himself and tried to be less than anyone else, being an example for all. He was the first to come to all the work. He was first to arrive at the church service, and he would never lean on the wall.

For this reason this place bloomed and the number of brethren grew. Late, in the depth of night, he would visit the cells of his brethren, listening to who was praying, who was working or who was reading holy scripture, or who was bewailing his sins and grieving about them, or who was joyful. He prayed to God about them so that there would be good monastic life. When, however, he would hear that two or three assembled, laughed and joked, he would knock at the door and then leave, breaking off idle speech with his reminder. In the morning he would summon them to himself and would not expose them fiercely or cruelly but very quietly and humbly, mercifully teaching them and instructing them to be disciplined and observant and to pray about their sins in silence, wordlessly. He would teach them with gentleness and compassion, as it is said, "Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness.." [Ps. 141:5] Those who were disobedient he would

1392 punish and those who would not accept their guilt he would instruct and correct with the fear of God how to live as a monk and pray about one's sins in humility and silence, not to speak after the last prayers and not to go from cell to cell except for coming to the abbot only.

[ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNAL, CENOBITICAL LIFE]

Some Greeks sent by Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople, came to the monastery of St. Sergius. They brought him the Patriarch's blessing, a cross, a scapular, monastic cloth, and a message. Blessed Sergius told them, "Did you not make an error? Perhaps you were sent to someone else. I am unworthy to have a message from the holy Patriarch." But they responded, "Are you Sergius who lives in Radonezh?" And he answered, "Yes, I am the sinful monk Sergius." And they told him, "The Oecumenical Patriarch Philotheus sends you his blessing." Thereupon St. Sergius remained silent but he greatly honored them and asked them to sojourn in his monastery. Then, at once, he took the Patriarch's presents and the charter and journeyed to blessed Metropolitan Alexis in the city of Moscow.

This blessed Sergius loved to work up to very old age, he never rode a horse and so journeyed on foot. He came to the city, to blessed Metropolitan Alexis, gave him the presents and the Patriarch's charter and revealed to him what had been said by the messengers. The Metropolitan took the charter and began reading it aloud so that all could hear. The following was written therein:

"By the grace of God, we, Philotheus, lord and oecumenical Patriarch of the city of Constantine, to the co-servant in the Holy Spirit of our humility. Grace and peace and our blessing be with you. We have heard about your life for God, wherefor we glorify God because the Lord said, 'The light will shine before people so that thy good deeds will be seen and will glorify Our Father Who is in heaven.' We have heard about you and your brethrens' life, and we praise it. Yet one important rule is still lacking. You have not introduced [in your rules] the principle of communal, cenobitical life which was already glorified by David, who was God's prophet, and who said, 'It is fine and beautiful to live a communal life with the brethren.' [Ps. 133:1] And so I give you some good advice. Follow the counsel of our humility and organize a communal monastic life so that the blessing of God, of the Most Pure Theotokos

and of all the saints will be with you, as well as our blessing and our prayer."[90] 1392

Reverend Abbot Sergius inquired of Metropolitan Alexis what he should do: should it be a communal life or a hermitical one in the wilderness? Metropolitan Alexis answered the following: "I give you all my blessing to do the same as lord Patriarch Philotheus commanded and blessed you."

He let him depart in peace. When Sergius came to his monastery in Radonezh he announced to his brethren the message of Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the counsel of Blessed Alexis, Metropolitan of all Russia. They said with joy, "Father! We also want a communal rule of life." Reverend Sergius greatly enjoyed their unanimity and agreement, and sought to do as was pleasing to God. So he assigned his brethren to various duties. One, to be cellarer; another, his aid; another, treasurer; another, to be in charge of the rules; others, to serve in the refectory; others, to be cooks; others, to be bakers; others, to attend to the ill; and all the wealth and estate of the monastery became common so that no one could possess anything of his own or call anything his own, but everything was the property of all. Those monks, however, who did not agree [with the new rule of communal, cenobitic living] left the monastery and from that time on the cenobitic way of life became established in St. Sergius' monastery in Radonezh, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

ABOUT THE FOUNDING OF A MONASTERY IN KERZHACH

Once, on a Saturday, vespers were celebrated in St. Sergius' monastery and St. Sergius, himself, officiated at the altar. Stephen, the aforementioned and senior brother of St. Sergius, who was in the choir, asked the canonarch,[91] "By whom were you told to use this book [of chants]?" The other replied, "I was told by abbot Sergius to use it." Stephen riposted, "Who is abbot here? It was I, myself, who was one of the first. Was it not I who used to occupy

90. In a cenobitic monastery the monks were not supposed to have any private property, for their cells, food and clothing were supplied by the monastery. Everything was held as common property. In a hermitage a monk lived on his own.

91. Canonarch: the leading singer or cantor in a Russian Orthodox monastic choir.

1392 this [position] and who built this church?" And he added some other words. Blessed Sergius heard all this from the altar[92] but he did not utter a single word. Yet, when all the monks left the church and went to the refectory for supper, this saintly one did not go either to the refectory or to his cell, and without informing anyone he left the monastery.

When night came he was already in the forest wilderness; he prayed, slept briefly, and on the morrow continued his way and came to a certain abbot [also named] Stephen, in the monastery of Makhrishche. He asked the abbot to provide him with a knowledgeable monk-guide who could help him find a site for a hermitage; and so he found a beautiful spot situated very high above the Kerzhach river.

In the meantime his brethren monks in his monastery of Radonezh became very worried about him and many of them went to look for blessed Sergius. One of these brethren found him near Kerzhach and became so overjoyed [to be again with him] that he decided not to return to Radonezh to report to his brethren. Finally, however, he decided to return because the monks would grieve greatly [not knowing the whereabouts of St. Sergius].

When the monks learned [about St. Sergius] they became overjoyed and began to join him, sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes even more of them. On this site [Kerzhach] St. Sergius built cells for them and for himself, and finally dispatched two of his pupils to His Holiness Metropolitan Alexis, asking him for a blessing to build a church there dedicated to the Annnunciation of the Most Pure Theotokos. He received the blessing and started building the church. Many people came to help build this church: monks and laymen, while princes, boyars and lords brought thither much wealth, gold and silver for the building of the monastery. And so quite soon, by the grace of God, a new monastery dedicated to the Honorable and Glorious Annunciation of the Most Pure Theotokos was built there.

92. Altar: In the strict sense of the word, "altar" is only the table on which the Gifts repose during the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In colloquial Russian, however, "altar" often designates the entire sanctuary, which is separated from the narthex, or the main part of the church, by the iconostasis, a wall adorned with icons (at least, by those of Christ, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist and Archangel Gabriel).

The brethren monks of the aforementioned orginal Holy Trin- 1392
ity Monastery in Radonezh became greatly saddened [by his absence] and so they journeyed to the city of Moscow to petition Holy Metropolitan Alexis, asking him to send them back St. Sergius from Kerzhach to his original monastery in Radonezh. His Grace listened to them and soon thereafter he sent to Sergius two archimandrites, Gerasimus and Paul, to tell him the following: "The church and the monastery which you founded in a place blessed by God [Radonezh] needs you; I learned this from your pupils. Appoint in your stead in the new monastery of Kerzhach a [good abbot and] builder, and return to your former monastery of the Holy Trinity in Radonezh because those who love you should not grieve too long at your absence. I will shortly send away from thence with dishonor those who disliked and disobeyed you, and no one will oppose you there in your original monastery. Do not disobey us and the favor of God, the Most Pure Theotokos and all the saints, as well as our blessing and prayers, will be with you."

St. Sergius promised to do this. When both archimandrites returned to Metropolitan Alexis they told him this. Soon thereafter Metropolitan Alexis sent his priests to the blessed one and they consecrated the church to the Immaculate Theotokos and Her Most Honorable and Glorious Annunciation. Reverend Sergius chose a certain Roman, one of his pupils, and sent him to the city, to the Metropolitan, for ordination. Roman was ordained a priest and reverend Sergius turned over to him the administration and construction of the new monastery in Kerzhach while he, himself, returned to his original monastery of the Holy Trinity in Radonezh.

ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF ST. SIMEON [SIMANOV] MONASTERY

As mentioned before, St. Sergius' senior brother, Stephen, had a son named Ivan who, already at the age of twelve, was tonsured by his uncle, Sergius, and received the monastic name of Theodore instead of Ivan. St. Sergius, his uncle, instructed him in viturous living and he distinguished himself in fasting and in observing the monastic rules, and later he became a monk-priest.

Theodore had the habit of sharing all his thoughts with reverend abbot Sergius and so once he had the idea of looking for a site so as to build his own monastery there, and he discussed this with Sergius. The latter answered, "My child, I had hoped that you would bury my bones and after my death would become abbot in

1392 Radonezh. Since you want to start your own work for God, however, may God and the Most Pure Theotokos help you."

And so he gave his blessing to his nephew, Theodore, and to those of the virtuous brethren who were of like mind with him. And they went looking in many places. They found a site which was appropriate for the building of the monastery not far from the city of Moscow, close to the river Moskva, which was called "Simanovo" ["site of St. Simeon"] from ancient times. Venerable Sergius, himself, came thither and saw that it was a good location suitable for the building of a monastery. He—Theodore—announced it to blessed Metropolitan Alexis, received a blessing from him and, in accordance with the Metropolitan's order and blessing, he founded a church there dedicated to the Name of the Most Pure Theotokos, of Her Honorable and Glorious Dormition. And so they built a church there, and a refectory and many cells.

Princes, boyars and lords gave for the building of the monastery a large amount of wealth, gold and silver, and so a communal, cenobitical life was organized there, a life of great and strict discipline, according to the rules of the great, venerable Fathers. No one could own anything or call anything his own, and everything was owned by everyone. It was, verily, a cenobitical life, and there was strict discipline, fasting, great abstinence, unceasing prayer, hymn-singing and reading of the Divine Word, and all manner of observance of the Fathers' monastic rules.

Seeing the monks' great virtue, venerable Sergius admired it very much and spiritually enjoyed it, and glorified God. Abbot Sergius did not want to lag behind his pupil and nephew as regards holy silence and non-speaking, but wanted to remain, himself, in [contemplative] silence and non-speaking because he, himself, loved silence and non-speaking. Although he was unwilling, venerable Sergius was besought by Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich and by His Holiness, Metropolitan Alexis of all Russia, to let his pupil, Theodore, become abbot of the monastery which the latter founded in Simanovo. From ancient times this place was called Simanovo, near the river Moskva in the vicinity of the city [of Moscow]. Metropolitan Alexis gave his blessing to Theodore to become abbot of his monastery in Simanovo. He [Theodore] lived a virtuous life, was very wise and intelligent, and his monastery became respected and glorified, and it surpassed many others by its honor and majesty. [Abbot] Theodore became the spiritual father of Grand

Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich [of Moscow, himself], and of the tysiatski, the boyars and lords, and he shone with virtue. He surpassed many others in renown. He was sent on several occasions to Constantinople concerning many problems and the Metropolia's administration. At that time there was Metropolitan Pimen in Moscow, and Metropolitan Cyprian was in Kiev.[93] **1392**

Later, in the year 6891/1383, Theodore, abbot of the Simanovo monastery, nephew and pupil of Sergius, journeyed to Constantinople to see Patriarch Nilus about the administration of the Russian Church. The Patriarch liked him very much, raised him to the rank of archimandrite, and accorded him high honor and position, surpassing other archimandrites. And so the great and honorable Theodore of Simanovo became the leading archimandrite. His monastery shone in glory, in honor and in many virtues above many others, and so did this monastery's elders. Many of them were called to many cities by the will of God and were given episcopal sees, the positions of archimandrite and abbot in many honorable monasteries. And they lived virtuously, honorably and respectfully, being good shepherds of God's flock.

When Theodore, archimandrite of Simanovo, nephew of Sergius, was in Constantinople, Patriarch Nilus kindly talked with him, took him close to his heart, honored him greatly, gave him many honorable presents, and made the Simanovo monastery a Patriarchal one.[94] He gave special charters to this honorable archimandrite Theodore to organize the Simanovo monastery as a patriarchal one, as well as to receive the estates. The monastery had many buildings, estates, rivers, lakes and other monastic properties. [This monastery] was not submitted in any respect to the Metropolitan, who did not have any authority over it. Having provided Theodore, archimandrite of Simanovo, nephew and pupil of Sergius, with great honor, he [the Patriarch] let him return honorably to Russia; he instructed him with great love and provided him with spiritual strength.

Archimandrite Theodore returned to his monastery of Simanovo with great honor and widespread respect. And so the

93. Both Metropolitans were appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople to the same See, and there was frequent friction between them.

94. Patriarchal monastery: that is, a monastery which is under the direct supervision of the Patriarch of Constantinople and not under the jurisdiction of the local bishop or Metropolitan in Moscow.

1392 monastery of Theodore in Simanovo became the Patriarchal one, just as there are Patriarchal towns, and it grew in every respect. Theodore blossomed there in virtues and he was respected by the grand princes, by the saint [Sergius], and by all the people.

A short time thereafter the grand princes and the Metropolitan began to implore Theodore to become bishop of the city of Rostov, but Theodore was unwilling because he sought to follow the way of his elder and uncle, Sergius. Although he was unwilling to do this, he nonetheless obeyed, contrary to his own will. In his monastery of Simanovo he built a large stone church dedicated to the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, and in his own place there he appointed another archimandrite. And so he was consecrated bishop of the city of Rostov.

Later, when he again visited Constantinople, Antonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, once more greatly honored him. In the year 6898/1390 he elevated him to the rank of Archbishop of Rostov.

He returned [to Russia] together with Metropolitan Cyprian. At that time Cyprian was in Constantinople but Metropolitan Pimen was also there in Constantinople. The latter, however, passed away there, and thus Cyprian was appointed Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia by Patriarch Antonius of Constantinople. And so Theodore, once archimandrite of Simanovo, nephew and pupil of venerable abbot Sergius of Radonezh, became Archbishop, and since then he was called "Theodore, Archbishop of Rostov." Thereafter all others who were later appointed to the See of the city of Rostov also were called "Archbishop of Rostov." At the beginning, up to the year 6898/1390, all [Russian bishops] except the Archbishop of Novgorod had the rank of bishop and not Archbishop. Up to the year 6667/1159 the bishops of Novgorod were called bishops and not Archbishops, but in this year John, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, greatly honored Bishop Elias of Novgorod and told him to be called Archbishop of Novgorod and Pskov. And since that time all those who were appointed to the See of Novgorod were called Archbishop. At the beginning [of the Russian Church], though, they were just bishops and not archbishops. Likewise in Rostov there were just bishops and not archbishops. Originally, all bishops in Russia used to wear white cowls: the Metropolitan, the bishops, those who received the great honor to be called Archbishops—indeed, all the bishops of Russia originally used to have white cowls.

Theodore, Archbishop of Rostov, nephew and pupil of venerable Sergius, abbot of Radonezh, lived in great virtue, carefully guided his flock of the city of Rostov which was entrusted to him by God. He was honored and respected by all. Having lived according to the will of God, he passed away. He loved God from his youth and for this reason he was tonsured a monk at a very young age. 1392

ABOUT SAINT ANDRONICUS, ANOTHER PUPIL OF SAINT SERGIUS

Venerable Sergius had another pupil, named Andronicus. He was born in Rostov and spent many years with Saint Sergius. Once His Holiness Metropolitan Alexis wanted to fulfill his promise which he made to Christ-God when, coming from Constantinople, he had to travel over a very heavy sea. And so he took from Sergius his pupil, Andronicus, and founded a monastery on the river Iauza in the vicinity of Moscow, dedicated to the Icon of Our Lord Jesus Christ "Not Made by Human Hands."[95] This monastery grew very large and its stone church was most beautiful, adorned with wonderful frescoes. This Andronicus was a quiet, humble and peaceful person, and many people from diverse places would come to him and be tonsured there. He spent many years virtuously and guided the flock of Christ according to God's will. He passed to God at a very advanced age, and [before dying] he appointed in his place as abbot in this monastery his pupil, Savva, who was a very spiritual and virtuous person.

ABOUT ATHANASIUS, PUPIL OF SERGIUS

Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Ivan Danilovich [Kalita], once persuaded venerable abbot Sergius to send him his pupil, a certain Athanasius, from the city of Rostov, who was a very virtuous monk. He also asked that venerable Sergius, himself, come to found a monastery in the vicinity of the city of Serpukhov. Saint Sergius walked thither because he loved humility and work, and never rode a horse. Arriving there, he found a location which was also liked by Prince Vladimir Andreevich. This place was called "*Vysokaia*" ("High Ground"). It was on the shore of the river Nara,

95. "Icon of the Savior not Made by Human Hands" (*Spas Nerukotvornyi*), or *Mandelion*. See Footnote in the entry for the year 1378. After the revolution of 1917 this monastery of St. Andronicus became the Museum of Icons.

1392 not far from the great river, Oka. [St. Sergius] prayed there and founded there a church dedicated to the Honorable Conception of the Most Pure Theotokos. And he gave [to Prince Vladimir] his pupil, Athanasius, who was virtuous and learned and had a good understanding of divine Scriptures, to which his writings bear witness up to now.[96] He became abbot of this monastery and organized a communal, cenobitical life there. There was a great multitude of monks and the monastery became an archimandrite's monastery. It was very famous and honored and was provided with everything it needed.

HOW SAINT SERGIUS WAS ASKED TO BECOME METROPOLITAN

Later, when His Holiness Metropolitan Alexis grew old and weak, he summoned venerable Sergius, speaking with him at length because he wanted him to become Metropolitan of all Russia. He took a cross and a scapular which was adorned with gold, pearls and gems, and gave a blessing to venerable abbot Sergius. The latter, however, responded, "Excuse me, great bishop of God! It is beyond my possibilities. Since my youth I have never worn gold. Now, in my old age, I want to continue still poorer." There were many talks but the Metropolitan let him go in order not to offend him. And he left in joy to return to his monastery in Radonezh. A short time thereafter His Holiness Alexis, Metropolitan of all Russia, passed away and his place was taken by Michael, archimandrite of the monastery of St. Saviour, who was also called "Mitiai,"[97] and who was most daring and shameless. In accordance with the will of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, he was appointed to the position of Metropolitan. He donned the vestment of Metropolitan with its symbol and golden cross, with scapular, pearls and gems, and also he accepted the golden shaft and white cowl. He assumed the entire power of Metropolitan, ordered that taxes be collected just as if he were Metropolitan, and judged and dealt and ruled also as if he were Metropolitan.

Before he was selected [by Grand Prince Dmitrii] to be Metropolitan, he was a lay priest, but was honored to become archimandrite. Thereafter, in view of his lay [non-ecclesiastic] selection and desire[98] he was appointed [but not consecrated] Metropolitan, al-

96. These writings, however, have not been preserved.—*Ed.*
97. For a detailed story about Mitiai, see the entry under the year 1378.
98. Mitiai was selected by the Grand Prince, not by the hierarchy.

though late Metropolitan Alexis would never have permitted it. **1392**
This Mitiai thought that it was Saint Sergius who advised Metropolitan Alexis not to choose him to be Metropolitan and therefore he was angry at venerable abbot Sergius, very inimical toward him, and boasted that he would have his revenge. Hearing of this, venerable abbot Sergius prayed to Lord God with all his heart and with tears, and addressed all the brethren of his monastery: "This Mikhail, also called Mitiai, boasts that he will destroy this holy place and chase us away, although we have no guilt. He will not be consecrated to the position of Metropolitan because he is not worthy of it. He will never see the Imperial City [of Constantinople]."

And so it happened. When Mikhail-Mitiai went to Constantinople [so as to be consecrated Metropolitan] he fell ill on shipboard on his way. Not reaching Constantinople, he passed away, according to the prophecy of venerable abbot Sergius. From that time on all those who heard this considered blessed Sergius a great prophet and wondermaker.

[ABOUT THE BATTLE OF KULIKOVO AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF DUBINKA]

After a certain time Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich came to venerable Sergius in his monastery and told him, "Are you aware, Father, that I grieve greatly and am sad, and all Christendom is in grief? We received tidings that Mamai, lord of the Horde, has marched with all the horde of godless Tatars and they are on their way to my patrimony, to the Russian land, because they want to destroy the holy churches and annihilate all Christendom. Therefore I ask you, holy father: pray to God for our Christendom so that God will preserve us from such misfortune."

And he, Sergius, said, "My lord, Prince! You are supposed to care for your flock and stand firm, and sacrifice your soul and spill your blood according to the example of Christ, because Christ also spilled his blood and gave his life for us. And so, my lord, march against them because the truth is yours; but submit yourself to him if he wants taxes from you. You have to obey the khan of the Horde. Basil the Great also humbly wanted to pacify impure Emperor Julian with some gifts and the Lord, seeing holy Basil's humility, deposed impure Emperor Julian and turned him over unto death. It is written, 'When our enemies want honor and respect from us, let us give them to them. When they want wealth, gold and silver, also give them to them.' One should sacrifice his life for

1392 the Name of Christ and for the Orthodox faith, as well as spill one's blood for that. And so, my lord, render them honor, give them gold and silver; but if, despite this, they still seek to fight us, God will not let them do so. Let us rely upon God and the Most Pure Theotokos, and thus you will defeat them and will return in good health with your army. And the Lord will glorify your name from generation to generation." And he gave him Peresvet and Osliabia, monks of his monastery who were very adept in the martial arts and knew how to command armies, and who were very strong, brave and daring.

And the Grand Prince told him, "Venerable father, in the case God will help me and I return healthy, I will build a monastery dedicated to the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos."

Grand Prince Dmitrii marched against Mamai and his Tatars, there was a very great battle, and in accord with the saint's prophesy, the Tatars were defeated and a great number of them were killed. The Grand Prince returned with his army in good health and he beseeched St. Sergius to look for a place to found a monastery. St. Sergius found such a location, summoned the Grand Prince and founded a church and monastery dedicated to the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos and he organized a communal, cenobitical life there. He appointed as abbot of this monastery one of his pupils by the name, Savva, who previously was the spiritual father for all the brethren of his [Sergius'] monastery, and who was a very honorable and learned elder. This monastery received the following name: "Monastery on Dubenka." And the venerable Sergius returned to his monastery. St. Sergius not only founded those monasteries about which I have written but also organized and built many other monasteries for the glory of God and the Most Pure Theotokos, putting his pupils in these monasteries as abbots. And they were virtuous and intelligent, and they led their flocks according to the will of God, and they passed away to God unto unspeakable joy.

ABOUT THE VISION OF THE MOST PURE THEOTOKOS

While venerable abbot Sergius remained in his monastery in silence, without speaking, and in poverty, the number of brethren grew, and there arose a scarcity of food in the monastery. The brethren became troubled and lost faith that the necessary supplies would be forthcoming. Venerable Sergius, however, did not lose

his faith in poverty because he relied upon God and the Most Pure Theotokos, Who feed and save everyone and Who care for the sacred place dedicated to His Divine Name. He knew that the Most Pure Theotokos is the Intercessor before Our Lord Christ and he prayed to Her uninterruptedly. 1392

He had the habit each day of singing chants of thanksgiving to the Most Pure which are called *Akathistos*. One day when he was singing, as mentioned before, the thanksgiving chant to Our Most Pure Lady Theotokos—it was Friday evening during the Nativity Fast—he completed his usual prayers according to the rules, sat down because he wanted to rest awhile, and heard a voice saying, "The Most Pure is coming."[99] Hearing, the venerable one arose, went from his cell to the porch, and a light shone there more brilliant than the sun, and he saw there the Most Pure Theotokos and two Apostles, Peter, the leading one, and John the Theologian. And all three of them shone with an indescribable light. The venerable one, who could not look [because of the strong light] fell in awe to the ground and was seized by joy. His pupil by the name of Micah also was seized by awe and trembling, and was lying on the ground as if dead.

The Most Pure stretched out Her arms, touched St. Sergius and raised him up, saying, "Fear not, my elected one. I have come to visit you. Be not anxious for your brethren in the monastery nor be afraid. From now on this holy monastery will have supplies in abundance, and not only during your lifetime but after you pass to the Lord. I will constantly care for your children of your monastery." And so it happened, and up to the present day there is an unspeakable and endless abundance of supplies. Having thus spoken, She became invisible.

Blessed Sergius arose and, seeing his pupil prostrate on the ground and fearful—the name of this pupil was Micah—he told him, "Rise up, my child Micah." And he raised him up. Micah dropped to the feet of the saint, saying, "Tell me, my father, for the Lord's Sake, what was this vision and this indescribable light that we have seen? My soul nearly departed from my body because of this brilliant appearance." The saint, with joy in his soul because he was filled with ineffable felicity, could answer nothing but this:

99. Nativity Fast—the forty days' fast before Christmas, November 15–December 24, *Liturgic Calendar*, p. 74.

1392 "Have patience, my child, because my soul is trembling from this miraculous vision." He remained contemplating and wondering for half an hour and then told his pupil, "My child! Go and summon to me my brethren, Isaac and Simeon."

When they arrived the saint told them about the vision, how the Most Pure had come with the Apostles, about the indescribable brilliance, and how She promised never to abandon this holy place, even after his passing to God. When they heard this they were filled with spiritual joy and, there together, they celebrated a thanksgiving service to the Most Pure Theotokos, whereupon he let them go to their cells. Sergius, himself, remained all night meditating on this indescribable vision. It was neither imaginary nor an apparition, but clearly and obviously a vision, as it happened in olden times to Athanasius of Mt. Athos.

Not long thereafter the saint was celebrating divine liturgy, during which the aforementioned Simeon was functioning as beadle, he being a monk accomplished in virtue. The saint, himself, witnessed his perfect life because he used to attend the saint. Then this Simeon saw a miraculous vision: divine light was moving over the holy altar, shining and turning about the Most Holy Gifts. This light turned around the saint three times and he saw that the saint was in the light from his head to his feet. When the saint wanted to take the Holy Gifts this light shone in the manner of a divine symbol, entered into the holy cup and the saint in this way made his communion. This Simeon marvelled at this indescribable vision and trembled with awe. When the saint moved away from the altar he understood, being inspired by the Holy Spirit, that Simeon also saw a vision, and he summoned him, saying, "My child, Simeon. Why is your soul become troubled?" The other answered, "I became frightened because I saw a miraculous vision, a divine light, and especially because the grace of the Holy Spirit was participating with you." The saint told him, "Do not mention what you have seen to anyone because God will come to see me and He will take me away from this world."

Together, they rendered praise to God, Who performs such wondrous and glorious deeds which might be seen by our eyes. Thereafter, understanding that he would depart to God, he taught the brethren about grace and gave them in his place another abbot by the name, Nikon. He entrusted him with the preservation of the tradition and the monastic rules, received Holy Communion,

and said, "Lord! I give my soul into Thy hands!" And so he passed away to God in the year 6900/1392 on September twenty-fifth. Altogether, he lived seventy-eight years from his birth. He was buried in the monastery which was founded by him and he cured many people who came to him in faith. **1392**

[End of the *Vita* of St. Sergius]

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[CAMPAIGN AGAINST NOVGOROD]

[6900/1392] That winter Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich disavowed his pledge on the cross to the Novgorodians, and he sent his uncle, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Danilo, as well as his own brother, Prince Iurii Dmitrievich, to Torzhok. They campaigned in the Novgorodian land, burning and causing much harm to the local inhabitants.

The same winter, toward spring, the Novgorodians took Velikii Ustiug, campaigned in its land and towns, burned them and caused much bloodletting. They put many people to the sword and took others into captivity. Having done much harm to the Christians, they returned to their own places.

[MOSCOW ANNEXES NIZHNII NOVGOROD]

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich disavowed his pledge on the cross to Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich, grandson of Vasilii, great grandson of Mikhail, gr. gr. grandson of Andrei, and went to the Horde, to Khan Tokhtamysh, rendering the latter great honor and presenting gifts. He requested the latter to turn over to him the Grand Principality of Nizhnii Novgorod, which had been under Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich, and to add it to his own Grand Principality of Moscow.[100] He bribed the Khan's lords so that they would support him with Khan Tokhtamysh, and they accepted much gold, silver and vast gifts. Khan Tokhtamysh also accepted much gold, silver and large gifts.

And so Khan Tokhtamysh granted the Grand Principality of Nizhnii Novgorod, which had been under Grand Prince Boris

100. This was his revenge for the aid rendered by the Prince of Nizhnii Novgorod to Tokhtamysh during the latter's invasion and taking of Moscow in 1382.

1392 Konstantinovich, to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow; [thereafter] Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich went with great joy from Khan Tokhtamysh, from the Horde, to Russia; with him was the Khan's envoy. Arriving in Kolomna, he, himself, went to Moscow while he sent Khan Tokhtamysh's envoy, together with his own boyars, to Nizhnii Novgorod.

When Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod learned of this—at that time he was in his patrimony of Nizhnii Novgorod—he summoned his boyars and started entreating them, weeping and shedding tears, saying, "My lords! Brethren! Boyars and friends! Remember, my lords, the pledge on the cross which you gave me, as well as my love and good disposition toward you." The senior boyar, whose name was Vasilii Rumianets, was at this meeting and he addressed his lord, Prince Boris Konstantinovich: "Do not be anxious or sad, my lord Prince! All of us are unanimously with you and we are ready to lay down our heads for you and to shed our blood." Speaking thus, cunningly, to his lord, he contacted Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [announcing] his intention of turning his lord over to him.

When Tokhtamysh's Tatars and the Moscow boyars arrived at the city [Nizhnii Novgorod], Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich did not want to let them into his city; but his senior boyar, Vasilii Rumianets, told him, "My lord Prince! This is the envoy of Khan Tokhtamysh, as well as the boyars of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow. They want to strengthen the peace and arrange eternal concord with you, while you prepare for fighting and war against them. Let them into the city because we are all with you, so what can they do?" And the Tatars and Muscovite boyars then entered the city: the bells began to ring and the people started gathering.

Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich sent to his boyars, saying, "My lords, brethren and dear guards! Remember your pledge on the cross which you gave to me and do not surrender me over to my enemies!" One of them, however, the senior boyar, Vasilii Rumianets, answered, "My lord Prince! Do not rely upon us. As of now, we are no longer yours. We are not with you but we are against you." So Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod was taken prisoner. A short time thereafter Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [of Moscow] came to Nizhnii Novgorod and assigned there his namestniks, while Prince Boris Konstantinovich,

with his wife and children and with all those who were his supporters, were ordered to be taken to diverse cities, be put in irons and kept under the strictest guard. 1392

Then another envoy came from Khan Tokhtamysh in the Horde; summoning Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich and the earlier envoy to come to the Khan, to the Horde. The Grand Prince went to the Horde, where he was more greatly honored by Khan Tokhtamysh than any of the earlier princes. So Khan Tokhtamysh gave Nizhnii Novgorod and Gorodets with all lands, as well as Meshchera and Tarusa, [to the Grand Principality of Moscow]. He treated him—Grand Prince Vasilii—very cordially and let him go back to Russia.

The same year, in Novgorod the Great, Iurii Ontsiforovich built a monastery in Kolmovo dedicated to the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same year the Swedes[1] attacked the Novgorodian land in the manner of robbers, came to the Neva and occupied the land and towns on both sides of the river for three versts, up to the fortress of Oreshek. Prince Semion gathered the citizens and chased them, killing some and bringing others prisoner to the fortress, while others escaped. Then Prince Semion went to Lithuania, leaving the city, while the Novgorodians dug a moat around the merchants' side.[2] The same year posadnik Bogdan Avvakumovich erected a stone church dedicated to Simeon the Stylite, and the church was consecrated on the day when this saint is remembered.

[Here, on pages 148–153 of Vol. XI of PSRL, *there comes a narrative about events in Serbia and the defeat of the Serbs on Kossovo Polie by the Ottoman Turks. Thereafter comes the story of the Turks' conquest of the Balkans and a report about Tamerlane's defeat of Sultan Bayazid in 1402, as well as other of Tamerlane's conquests. This narrative, taken from the* Chronograph *and other sources, concludes with the happenings in Byzantium. Since almost none of these stories, except for one excerpt, relates to Russian history, this section taken from the* Chronograph *is omitted here. The only excerpt related to Russian history follows.]*

1. In the Old Muscovite manner, *Nik.* calls all the Germanic nations, including the Swedes, *Nemtsy*, or "Germans".

2. "*Torgovaia storona:*" the eastern side of the river Volkhov, in which the merchants lived. The west side, with the fortress, St. Sophia cathedral and the Archbishop's residence, was called "*Sofiiskaia storona.*"

1392 [TAMERLANE]

He [Tamerlane] came to the Great Horde, defeated it and chased Khan Tokhtamysh. Then this accursed one became obsessed with fierceness and wanted to march against Russia, still having the Turkish Sultan Bayazid with him in a cage. This was during the days of the reign of pious Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. He came as far as the Riazan' land, took the city of Elets and captured the prince of Elets. Then terror seized the entire Russian land; but Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich already stood [with his host] on the bank of the river Oka. Then he sent for the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, about which it is said that it was painted by St. Luke, the Evangelist, brought to Kiev on the same ship as the Icon [of the Most Pure Theotokos] of the Tower,[3] and was taken by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii to Vladimir and put into a golden frame in which were over thirty grivnas of gold, many gems and pearls. When this Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos was brought thither—to the bank of the river Oka—the bishop and all the people met it, praying and shedding tears. Tamerlane remained fifteen days in the same encampment, and when the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos was brought thither he became frightened, trembled and departed, pursued by divine wrath. The Grand Prince and all the people made this day a fair holiday, built a church there and decided to celebrate [annually] this miracle of the Most Pure Theotokos.

And so Tamerlane returned to his native land, called Orar; but again decided to campaign in the lands of the Horde and Russia. In those regions, however, [winter] was very cold, many of his warriors died, and he was told that one hundred and ten of his tents had become empty [thereby]. He nonetheless donned twenty fur coats and resolved to go to see, himself; but he could not because of the cold and returned home. This cold weather, however, injured his insides. He summoned his physicians, who gave him a potion of cooked fat, which he drank and which tore his insides apart. He

3. This latter well known Icon of the Tower (*Pirogoshchaia:* from Gr. *Pyrios*) was mentioned in the *Lay of Igor's Campaign* (see Zenkovsky, S., *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales*, p. 180) and in *Nik.* (see the reign of Iurii Dolgorukii, in Vol. II, p.85).

lay for six days and blood began to run out of him, and so he died within the next three days.[4] **1393**

In the year 6901/1393. During early dawn of the first day of the month of September the moon disappeared.

The same fall on the fifth day of the month of September the former khan's son, Aziz Baba, was killed in the Horde by Khan Tokhtamysh. The same fall there was a battle between Khan Tokhtamysh and Tamerlane. Tokhtamysh was defeated and escaped but his army was annihilated.[5]

The same year the Germans waged war against Vilna and caused much harm.

The same fall Khan Tokhtamysh again became khan of the Horde of the Volga while Tamerlane went to his own lands [in Central Asia]. That fall on the twenty-first day of the month of November Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich returned to Moscow from Khan Tokhtamysh, from the Horde. He returned with great honor and with the bestowal of the Grand Principality of Nizhnii Novgorod, together with the cities of Gorodets, Meshchera and Tarusa, and he received many gifts and was greatly honored. There was great joy in the city of Moscow and the people celebrated in great measure.

The same year Danilo Feofanovich, who had frequently served the Grand Prince in the Horde, in Russia and in foreign lands, passed away. Before his passing he became a monk and received the monastic name of Daniel; and he was buried in the monastery of the Metropolitan next to his uncle, blessed Metropolitan Alexis of Kiev and all Russia, in the Church of the Miracles of the Holy Archangel Michael [*Chudov monastyr'*], which is inside the fortress of Moscow.

The same year on the very day of Easter, after vespers, the people of Novo Torzhok killed Maksim, boyar of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich sent his troops to Novo Torzhok, arrested many citizens of Novo Torzhok, brought

4. In mentioning Tamerlane's march against Russia, among other items concerning the Balkans, Byzantium, the Middle East and Central Asia, the chronicler placed these latter events erroneously under 6900/1392 and again under 6903/1395.

5. See the footnote under 6900/1392. There were many battles between these rulers.

1393 them to Moscow and executed them in diverse ways; and the others escaped.

The same year the Novgorodians took Velikii Ustiug, burned it, robbed its wealth and took people into captivity.

This winter was very cold and the freezes were unbearable. Numberless people and cattle perished.

The same year the Turkish emir, Chela Bei, son of Murad, conquered the entire Bulgarian land, including the illustrious city of Tyrnovo. He captured their tsar, their patriarch, metropolitans and bishops, burned the holy relics and turned the cathedral church into a mosque.[6]

The same year Prince Ivan, son of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich, brother of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, passed away after being tonsured a monk, and he received the monastic name of Asaph and was buried in the monastery of St. Saviour, which is within the wall of the city of Moscow.

[CONFLICT BETWEEN NOVGOROD AND MOSCOW] [1393]

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich was in conflict with the Novgorodians because the latter were unwilling to be tried [in ecclesiastic matters] by Cyprian, Metropolitan of all Russia, and did not want the Metropolitan to have jurisdiction over Novgorod, as it used to be according to the old Novgorodian tradition. Therefore Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich sent to Novgorod asking them not to trespass the tradition of old, that the Metropolitan should have jurisdiction over them, that their lord Archbishop should not have [supreme] authority, and that they should pay their dues to the Metropolitan, as of old; and that the Grand Prince, as of old, should have the right to the best timber in Novgorod and in all the Novgorodian lands. They, however, did not want to agree to this and disobeyed, so there was an argument between them. Then the Grand Prince said, "Send a petition to the Metropolitan saying that you gave a pledge on the cross among yourselves not to recognize the authority of the Metropolitan, and that the [supreme ecclesiastic] authority [in Novgorod] should be your lord Archbishop's; then send this petition to the Metropolitan, who will absolve your sins [and withdraw his interdiction]." They did not listen, though; therefore Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich

6. Tyrnovo, the capital city of the Bulgarian land, was, indeed, taken in 1393.

gathered a large army, occupied the Novgorodian towns of Torzhok, with its land, Volok Lamskii and Vologda, and campaigned in other of their lands, then returned home with great booty. But the Novgorodians under Prince Roman of Lithuania and Prince Konstantin Vasilievich of Belozero gathered a large host and marched with great forces against Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, occupying the towns of Kilichev and Ustiuzhna. 1393

In the meantime many Novgorodians gathered beyond the Volok[7] and, possessing many boats and *ushkui* vessels, they took the city of Ustiug, burning it with fire, robbed the cathedral church, seized much treasure—gold and silver—and even tore off the gold and silver mountings from the icons.[8] They remained there for a month, fighting and bringing people out of the forest, whom they tortured, asking them where their possessions were, where they were hidden. And they captured people, devastated all the lands and towns and sent all the captured people, cattle and goods down the river Dvina. About the same time they campaigned in Belozero, in the city, towns and lands, and did there the same as in Ustiug.

Then, however, the Novgorodians made peace with Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, accepted his suzerainty and sent a charter [of apology] to Metropolitan Cyprian in Moscow. Thereupon Grand Prince Vasilii sent Koshka to them in Novgorod—the son of Andrei Kobyla as well as Ivan Uda and Selivan.[9] And the Novgorodians agreed to peace according to the old tradition, and consented that the Grand Prince had the right to the best pine lumber in all the Novgorodian lands. Then the Novgorodians gave the Metropolitan's envoy, Dmitrii, three hundred and fifty rubles, for he brought them his lord's—Cyprian's, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia—blessing and the charter withdrawing the interdiction. In this charter it was written, "I, Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, absolve you for your charter with your pledge on the cross, and forgive your sins and give you my blessing. My spiritual son, the Grand Prince, accepts your petition and agrees to peace as of old; but you should remain faithful and firm because I give you my

7. In this case, "Volok" means the portage between the Volga and the northern Dvina.

8. The translation of the account in this paragraph of the Novgorodian attack against Ustiug follows the more detailed account found in *Acad. XVII Ms.*

9. Fedor Koshka and Andrei Kobyla were the ancestors of the later Romanov dynasty.

1394 blessing." Then the Novgorodians sent six hundred rubles to Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, in Moscow, and they accepted peace as of old, and there was great concord between them.

The same year Grand Princess Evdokiia, dowager of Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi, erected a stone church inside the walled city of Moscow dedicated to the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos, with a chapel dedicated to St. Lazarus.[10] Before, there was a wooden church there.

The same year King Iagailo Olgerdovich [of Poland], grandson of Gedimin, gave his cousin, Vitovt Keistutovich, the Grand Principality of Lithuania; and the same year Vitovt Keistutovich, grandson of Gedimin, ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Novgorodians concluded peace with him as of old.

The same year Prince Konstantin Vasilievich of Belozero came to Novgorod, where the Novgorodians received him with honor.

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich campaigned against Nizhnii Novgorod, against the princes of Nizhnii Novgorod—Vasilii Dmitrievich Kirdiapa and his brother, Semion Dmitrievich.

In the year 6902/1394. Boris Konstantinovich, Prince of Nizhnii Novgorod, Suzdal' and Gorodets, grandson of Vasilii, great grandson of Mikhail, gr. gr. grandson of Andrei, passed away and was buried on the sixth day of May in Suzdal', the city of his forefathers.

The same year Lord Bishop Arsenius of Tver' built on the river Tmartsa a monastery dedicated to the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos. And he [built] there a stone church in which he ordered that he be buried. In the same monastery he built a warm winter church dedicated to the Holy Fathers Antonius and Theodosius of the Kievan Cave Monastery.

The same year Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', grandson of Mikhail, great grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, ordered that the crumbling wall of the fortress of Tver' be torn down. Then he commanded that timber be prepared [for a new fortress] which they completed the following year.

The same year there was a great flood in the spring.

The same year a stone church dedicated to the Most Pure

10. This church was erected within the Kremlin.

Theotokos was erected on Fox Mountain [*Lisiia Gora*] in Novgorod the Great, as well as another church dedicated to St. Demetrius. 1394

The same year the Novgorodians marched under Prince Roman of Lithuania and Prince Konstantin Vasilievich of Belozero to wage war against Pskov. At that time Prince Andrei Olgerdovich with his son, Ivan, was in Pskov. During the march a battle occurred between the Novgorodians and the men of Pskov. Many people on both sides were killed, including Prince Ivan of Koporie and Vasilii Fedorovich. So the Novgorodians returned home without making peace with Pskov, and they took away the office of posadnik from Osip Zakhar'ich, giving it to Bogdan Avvakumovich. The same year Prince Andrei Olgerdovich with levies of Pskov and a large army, marched against Novgorod and then retreated, without concluding peace. The same year Bishop Mikhail of Ephliom[11] came from Constantinople, from Antonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, bringing to Novgorod from Patriarch Antonius two charters about the fees and dues which were to be paid upon the ordination of priests, as well as an instruction to all Orthodox Christians.

The same year Princess Maria, daughter of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi, was wed in Moscow to Prince Lugven Olgerdovich, grandson of Gedimin of Lithuania, and this happened during the week of All Saints, on the fourteenth day of the month of June. The same year a son, Vasilii, was born to Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Ivan Kalita, gr. gr. grandson of Danilo of Moscow.

The same year the Germans marched against the city of Vilna against Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich, grandson of Gedimin, and there was a great battle at the city of Vilna. Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania defeated them and captured many German commanders.

The same year Vasilii Dmitrievich Kirdiapa and his brother, Prince Semion Dmitrievich, princes of Suzdal', Nizhnii Novgorod and Gorodets, fled to the Horde, to Khan Tokhtamysh, in order to get back their patrimony, Nizhnii Novgorod, Suzdal' and Gorodets. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow sent his men to capture them: these men endeavored staunchly to do so but were unable to capture them.

The same year it was decided to dig a moat in Moscow from

11. Ephliom: location not identified.

1395 Kuchkovo Field to the Moscow river, and there were great losses among the people because their houses were torn down, and people labored greatly but achieved nothing.

The same year Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan' waged war against Liubutsk and he returned home with many captives. The same year Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan' defeated the Tatars of Tokhtamysh's horde, who had come to raid the Riazan' lands.

In the year 6903/1395. Dissension arose among the great Tatar lords of Tokhtamysh's horde and thus ended the peace. There was fighting among them on the river Volga. In this battle, on the eighth day of September, many lords and Tatars were killed.

The same autumn on the twenty-eighth day of the month of November, Theodore, the first Archbishop of Rostov, passed away. Before him there were only bishops, not archbishops. This Archbishop Theodore was a nephew of blessed Abbot Sergius of Radonezh.

The same autumn Metropolitan Cyprian of all Russia went to Novgorod the Great together with the envoy of Patriarch Antonius [of Constantinople], and he requested of them the right to be [supreme] judge there [in ecclesiastic cases] as of old. The Novgorodians agreed to accept his authority as of old. He remained in Novgorod the winter and spring until the fast of St. Peter. Lord Archbishop John of Novgorod rendered great honor to Metropolitan Cyprian and the Patriarch's envoy, and all Novgorod demonstrated its respect and love for them. And so Metropolitan Cyprian left Novgorod for Moscow, having given with love his blessing to his spiritual son, Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, and to all Novgorod the Great.

The same winter on the first day of the month of March a son, Iurii, was born to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich.

The same year Prince Boris Mikhailovich passed away in Kashin and his body was brought to Tver', where he was buried in the church of St. Alexander.

The same year a certain woman was cured at the grave of Wonderworker Peter [in Moscow] at the Metropolitan cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same year masters Theophanes the Greek and Semion Chernyi completed painting frescoes inside the church of the Nativ-

ity of the Most Pure Theotokos in Moscow, as well as its chapel, 1395
dedicated to St. Lazarus.

The same year there was a great conflagration in Moscow suburbs and some thousands of households burned.

The same year Isak Antsiforovich erected in Novgorod the Great a stone church dedicated to Archangels Michael and Gabriel.[12] The same year fifteen thousand Swedes waged war against Novgorod, but Prince Konstantin Vasilievich of Belozero, with the levies of Novgorod, marched against them. A battle took place and God helped Prince Konstantin Vasilievich, and some [Swedes] were slain and some escaped. He returned to Novgorod the Great with a great many captives and booty, and the people of Novgorod met him joyfully.

The same year on the twenty-fourth of the month of August the new fortress of the city of Zubtsov, which is in the land of Tver' on the Volga, burned. The fire started early on Sunday from lightning, when the marketgoers were returning home, and because of the wind a heavy conflagration occurred. The entire city burned, with the church of St. Archangel Michael.

⁂

The same year.

THE TALE ABOUT THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MIRACLE FROM THE ICON OF THE MOST PURE THEOTOKOS, WHICH IS CALLED THE ICON OF VALDIMIR AND WHICH, IT IS SAID, WAS PAINTED BY LUKE THE EVANGELIST, AND ABOUT ITS TRANSFER FROM THE CITY OF VLADIMIR TO THE GODLOVING CITY OF MOSCOW DURING THE INVASION OF THE INFIDEL KHAN TEMIR AKSAK [TAMERLANE].

In the days of the reign of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, grandson of Ivan, gr. gr. grandson of Danilo of Moscow, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Aleksandr, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav Vsevolodich, and during the rule of His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, in the sixteenth year of his pastorship and in the fifteenth year of the rule of Khan Tokhtamysh,

12. The translation of the remainder of this paragraph follows the more detailed account found in *Acad. XVII Ms.*

1395 Khan of the great Volga Horde, and in the seventh year of the reign of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, and in the fourteenth year since the taking of Moscow by Khan Tokhtamysh, there was great disturbance in the Horde. A certain Khan Temir Aksak [Tamerlane] came from the eastern lands, from the Blue Horde, from the Shemakha land; and his arrival caused great trouble and dissension in the Horde and in Russia.[13]

Certain people say about this Temir Aksak that originally he was neither a khan nor son of a khan, nor of a khan's family, nor a lord, nor a notable; but he was from a family of poor people, from among the simple Tatars who lived beyond the river Iaik[14] from the Shemakha land, from the Blue Horde, which is located beyond the Iron Gate.[15] By trade he was an ironsmith. In his habits and mores he was merciless, criminal, predatory, a schemer and robber. Once he was the slave of a lord but because of his evil habits his lord dismissed him. And so, not having anything to feed and clothe himself with, he started to steal and rob. When he was very young he stole a sheep from a certain person; but this person with his people caught him, beat him sorely and broke his foot and his hip in half, and then cast him out, believing him dead, to be eaten by the dogs. After a certain time Temir recovered and mended his leg with iron, but thereafter he was lame and was called "Temir Aksak."[16] He was named "Temir Aksak" ["Iron Lame Man"] for his condition and his craft. After a long recuperation from his wounds he did not give up his evil habits but became still worse—he became a mean and merciless robber. Some cruel and ruthless men and young people joined him, robbing and spilling blood. When they numbered a hundred they called him their leader of this gang

13. Tamerlane: from Persian, Timur-Lenk (Timur the Lame); in Turkic, Timur Aksak. Born in 1336, Tamerlane was the son of a local Central Asian Turkic lord. He was emir and ruler of Central Asia and Persia from 1370 to 1405, when he died. He conquered Persia, Turkey , Mesopotamia, Transcaucasia and the Central Asian prairies. He attacked Tokhtamysh in 1389, 1391, 1394–5. The Blue, or White, Horde was a Central Asian nomadic state. Shemakha was the capital of a state in Transcaucasia. See the same, although abridged, story under the year 6900/1392.

14. River Iaik: now, the Ural river.

15. "Iron Gate:" a narrow passage between the Caucasian mountains and the Caspian Sea.

16. "Temir" is "iron", in the Tatar tongue, and "Aksak" is "lame one."

of robbers. When their number attained a thousand, then he was called "lord." When he became still stronger, capturing many lands, many cities, many countries and realms, then he called himself "Khan" and started waging many wars and fighting many battles, and he caused much bloodshed. 1395

He won many battles, defeated many enemies and conquered many cities, countries and lands, capturing people and submitting others to death. He subjected many regions, tongues, principalities and realms. He captured the Turkish Sultan Bayazid and assumed his realm.

These are the names of the lands and realms which Temur Aksak conquered: Djagatai, Khorassan, Gulistan, Kitai, Blue Horde, Shiraz, Ispahan, Arnachi, Gilan, Siz, Shizram, Shemakha, Sivas, Arzarum, Tabriz, Tbilisi, Guria, Abkhazia, Baghdad, Temir-Baty, also called "Iron Gate," Great Assyria, the Babylonian realm, where King Nebuchadnazar used to reign, the one who conquered Jerusalem and captured the three young men—Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael; as well as Daniel, the Prophet [Dan. 3:22–23]; the city of Sebaste, where the Holy Forty were martyred; Armenia, where Bishop St. Gregory was; Great Damascus, where St. John of Damascus resided; and Great Sarai [on the Volga].[17] From all these lands and realms he levied taxes and tribute, which they gave to him, and they obeyed him in every respect. They participated, as well, in his campaigns. He would carry with him the Turkish Sultan Bayazid in an iron cage for the purpose of his own glory and to instill fear in the lands and realms.[18] With troops which numbered

17. Despite often difficult Old Russian transliteration of many of these cities and lands, most of them are still readily identifiable: Djagatai—a Turco-Mongol state in present Russian and Chinese Turkistan; Khorassan—the northeastern part of Persia: Gulistan—the land of Rose, probably northern Persia; Kitai—a region of Kara Kitais in Mongolia; the Blue, or White, Horde—present Kazakhstan; Shiraz, Ispahan—Persian cities; Gilan—a Persian province on the Caspian Sea; Shirvan and Shemakha—cities in Transcaucasia; Sivas and Arzarum—cities in Turkish Armenia; Tabriz—the capital of Persian Azerbaidjan; Tbilisi—the capital of Georgia (in Transcaucasia); Guria, Abkhazia, Georgia—lands in Transcaucasia; Temir-Baty or "Iron Gate"—an ancient city between the Caucasian range and the Caspian Sea. Damascus—the capital of Syria; St. John of Damascus—an Orthodox theologian, hymnologist and, unexpectedly, a leading statesman at the court of the Arabian caliphs of Damascus; born *ca.* 675; died *ca.* 750.

18. In 1402 Tamerlane captured and defeated the Turkish Ottoman Sultan Bayazid at Ankara (Asia Minor).

1395 many and many tens of thousands he marched against Khan Tokhtamysh of the Great Horde. Between them there ensued a battle on an open field[19] in the place called "The Horde" in the roaming place of Khan Tokhtamysh near the river Sevencha. And he defeated and routed Khan Tokhtamysh; so such a multitude were killed on both sides that the corpses formed there high walls. After they moved away from those places tens and tens of thousands of dead remained there. This accursed one became instilled with pride and he blasphemed the Christian faith, the great holy wonderworkers, especially the great wonderworker Metropolitan Peter, and he intended to march against Russia to capture Christendom in the same way as did Khan Batu, whom God permitted thus to do because of us, of Christians' sins. And so this one also became filled with pride and plotting, marched into the Riazan' land, took the city of Elets, captured the prince of Elets, took some people captive, and killed the others.

When Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich heard about this he gathered his own large host, marched from Moscow to Kolomna and took up a postion on the bank of the great Oka river. After devastating both banks of the river Don, Khan Temir-Aksak then camped in the Riazan' land. Sojourning there fifteen days, he resolved to march against Moscow, to capture all of the Russian land, and to put everyone to the sword. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich received these tidings and sent to Moscow to his spiritual father, Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and Russia, telling him that Khan Temir-Aksak intended to conquer Moscow and all the Russian land. He told the Metropolitan of his intention to bring to Moscow from Vladimir the Miraculous Icon called the "Icon [of the Virgin Mary] of Vladimir," which was said to have been painted by St. Luke the Evangelist, and he asked him to instruct the people to adhere to fasting, repentance and [confession of] all their sins to God and to their spiritual fathers.[20] The supreme hierarch and shepherd, His Holiness Metropolitan Cyprian [addressed his flock] and reminded them of the repentance of Nineveh and of Hezekia, King of Israel, of Manasseh, and of the invasion of the ruling city [Jerusalem] by the Persian King Chosroes, and how Lord God protected His people

19. April 15, 1395.

20. For the background of the story of this icon, see the entry under the year 1155.

and those of His Most Pure Mother, putting the enemy to shame **1395**
and defeating them.[21] He commanded the people also to observe fasting and almsgiving, to put an end to the enmity among those who quarrel, and not to take revenge upon those who trespassed against them. [He reminded them] that they should repent and confess their sins to God and to their spiritual fathers, to abstain from unclean things of the flesh, from sweets, from drinking, from pride, from gossip-mongering; but to abide in humility and spiritual contemplation, praying to God and to the Most Pure Theotokos, and to Russia's great protector, wonderworker Metropolitan Peter, and to all the saints for the remission of their sins and for escape from the invasion of the impure Khan Temir Aksak.

He [Cyprian] sent quickly to Vladimir for the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos. Together with the priests and other clergymen, the archpriest of this [cathedral] church of Vladimir took it from the church on the holiday of Her Dormition. As they drew near the city of Moscow, Metropolitan Cyprian went far from the city [to meet the Icon] with a procession, with crosses, with the bishops, archimandrites, abbots and all the clergy, and with a great multitude of monks, nuns, lay people, princes and boyars. At that time Moscow was prepared for siege by Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Ivan [Kalita], gr. grandson of Danilo, gr. gr. grandson of Aleksandr Nevskij, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii. So a great multitude of people, men and women, small and grown—all left the city to meet [the Icon] in a procession with crosses, singing psalms, chanting and censing, all the while praying with tears. They were asking God and His Most Pure Mother to deliver them as well as to protect their land, their cities and all the lands of Orthodox Christendom from the invasion of Khan Temir Aksak, from fire, from the sword, from violent death and from the present grief; and they were glorifying Lord God and rendering honor to

21. Kings Hezekiah, in 701 B.C., and Manesch (Manasseh) in 692 B.C., submitted Israel to Assyria. Nineveh was the capital of Assyria. Chosroes II, or Khusru Parviz, in A.D. 614 conquered Jerusalem from Byzantium and captured the True Cross, on which Christ was crucified and which was found by Empress Helen, mother of Constantine the Great. Later Chosroes II was defeated by Bahram (Varabran) and was obliged to flee to Byzantium.

1395 Him and to His Most Pure Mother Theotokos. Metropolitan Cyprian with the entire Sacred Council came with the Miraculous Icon into the holy cathedral and metropolitan church of the Most Pure Theotokos where the grave of blessed Metropolitan Peter, great wonderworker and intercessor of Russia, is located. They chanted also a Te Deum and a litany to the Most Pure Theotokos and to the great wonderworker Peter, weeping and shedding tears to Lord God and to His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, and to the great wonderworker, protector of Russia.

Then the Most Pure Theotokos demonstrated Her great miracle. On the very day when this Miraculous Icon was brought from the city of Vladimir to the city of Moscow and was met by the great hierarch with the entire clergy and was taken into the cathedral church, and the great hierarch chanted the Te Deum and litanies with the entire Sacred Council, Temir Aksak—who was encamped at that time in the Riazan' land, on both banks of the river Don, and was lying asleep on his couch—[this Temir Aksak] had a most terrifying dream. [He had a vision of] a very high mountain from whence bishops approached him with golden staffs in their hands, strictly prohibiting him [from advancing]. Then, of a sudden there appeared over the bishops a woman in crimson vestments followed by a multitude of warriors who threatened him fearfully. He abruptly arose, trembled, cried out loudly, shaking all over, and said, "What is this?" His lords and commanders inquired of him what had occurred, wishing to find out what had happened to him; but he was unable to tell them anything, merely shook and trembled. After he recovered and had related his vision to them he ordered that his numberless forces be turned back and made haste to escape, being pursued by the wrath of God and the Most Pure Theotokos and by the prayers of the holy wonderworker Metropolitan Peter, protector of the Russian land. Thuswise he retreated forthwith and in great fright.

Learning of this, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich returned to his patrimony, the city of Moscow, where he was met by a procession with crosses and by the great hierarch and shepherd, His Holiness Metropolitan Cyprian, and by the entire Sacred Council. They entered the cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos and chanted a litany to Lord God, the Most Pure Theotokos and the great wonderworker Peter, as well as thanksgiving chants to Lord God,

to the Most Pure Theotokos and to the great wonderworker Peter. 1395
Filled with joy, they all wept tearfully, saying:

"Let us chant to the Lord! He has been greatly glorified because the horses and horsemen of the Ishmaelites were invisibly put to fright and they fled. Let us glorify the strength of Thy arm, Our Lord. Thy arm defeated the enemy, and Thou destroyed our enemies with Thy great glory. In this way Divine Providence and the mercy of the Most Pure Theotokos, the supreme Christian succour, demonstrated such intercession and such a miracle, and granted us a most glorious salvation, and delivered us from the ferocity of Khan Temir Aksak as well as from invasion by his numberless host."

And so Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, together with his spiritual father, Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and Russia, held council in the place where they met the Miraculous Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos and ordered that a church be erected there, dedicated to the Most Pure Theotokos and the honorable and glorious meeting [of Her Icon] so as to memorialize and glorify Her miracles and so that such a miracle not be forgotten from generation unto generation. This church of the Meeting [of the Icon] of the Most Pure Theotokos was consecrated by Metropolitan Cyprian, himself, who organized a monastery there and assigned an abbot to it, and gathered monks. This monastery was endowed by the grand prince with all that was needed. Since that time on the twenty-sixth day of the month of August a holiday has been observed honoring and glorifying Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos. This was the day when the holy martyrs Adrian and Natalia are remembered.

Let us thank and glorify Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos! Let us labor and care for good deeds because we are slothful! Let us express our gratitude to the Mother of God! In such wise we will obtain grace and mercy through our expression of thanks and glorification. And it will be done in quietude, in humility, in meekness, with emotion. And then we will abide in love and mercy in a way pleasing to God. And we will be delivered from visible and invisible enemies and will receive unspeakable gifts, thanks to the grace of the manloving God, Our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom is the glory and the power, together with the

1396 Father and the Holy Ghost, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.[22]

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The same year [6903/1395] on the twenty-fourth day of the month of August, the new fortress of Zubtsev on the Volga burned. It burned early on Sunday because of lightning, when the market was closing. The conflagration arose because of a strong wind, and the entire city burned, together with the church of St. Archangel Michael.

[HAPPENINGS IN BYZANTIUM]

The same year the Turkish ruler, Kolachan, and the son of Andronik marched with great forces to Constantinople. The Byzantine Emperor Manuel [II], son of John Paleologue, marched against them from Constantinople with Greeks, with Franks and with Germans, all being in unanimity and concord. They met the Turkish ruler Kolachan, defeated him and pursued him into the Turkish land, slaying many of his forces; and so there was great dishonor and shame for him and he lost many people, and there were grief and sadness.[23]

In the year 6904/1396. In the month of September the sun disappeared. The same fall there was dissension in Smolensk between Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk, his brother, Gleb Sviatoslavich, and his other brothers, the sons of Sviatoslav. They were in disagreement and great enmity, and they incurred

22. The *Nik.* text of this narrative is very close to that in the *Muscovite Chronicle of the End of the XVth Century (PSRL,* Vol. 25, pp. 222–225). New details of Temir Aksak's dream and Metropolitan Cyprian's speeches were added by the editors of *Nik.*; source unknown. A shorter, probably more original, version of it has been preserved in *Sof.*, second version, *PSRL* VI, pp. 124–128.

23. Manuel II reigned 1391–1425. "Son of Andronik" was John VII, who ruled shortly in Constantinople in 1390 and was the son of Emperor Andronik IV, 1376–1379. Who Kolochan was is unclear. Possibly this is a distorted name of Karaman, Bayazed's son-in-law. In any case, he was not a sultan. Constantinople was attacked and besieged by Bayazed on many occasions in the 1390's. Since Byzantium at that time was reduced practically just to the city of Constantinople, Manuel's troops consisted mostly of Frankish (Italian) and German mercenaries. Bréhier, pp. 589, and 378–389.

hatred among each other over the division of their father's princi- 1396
pality. There developed great dispute amongst them and brother would not heed brother nor friend, friend. Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich saddened, grieved greatly and journeyed to Riazan' to his father-in-law, Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan'.

The same fall the Turkish Sultan Kolachan killed his son, Vecheniap, and a great many of his lords and foremost men were slain together with him.[24] The same fall Khan Temir Aksak [Tamerlane], who was then in the region of the [Golden] Horde near the [Caspian] sea, was punished by divine wrath and a heavy plague descended upon his men and cattle.[25]

[VITOVT ANNEXES SMOLENSK]

The same fall in the month of September Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich, grandson of Gedimin, assembled a large force and marched with his host in the vicinity of Smolensk, feigning an advance against Khan Temir Aksak [Tamerlane] and not against Smolensk. Word spread throughout that Vitovt Keistutovich was marching with large forces against Temir Aksak, bypassing Smolensk; but this word was spread to deceive the people of Smolensk. At that time there was great enmity in the city of Smolensk. The Princes Sviatoslavich were in disagreement, hated each other and fought among themselves, each vying for part of the patrimony in the dominion of this principality. Brother disregarded brother. When Vitovt Keistutovich reached the vicinity of Smolensk, feigning that he intended to bypass Smolensk, Prince Gleb Sviatoslavich came out of the city with boyars and a small guard. He [Vitovt] honored him, gave him gifts and let him go in concord and peace, saying, "My dear Princes, brothers! You should come to meet me with love and fearing not. If there be a quarrel among you or some manner of litigation, then come to me and I, as a third party, will make a right judgment." So Vitovt succeeded in his cunning action against them and, flattering them, invited them from the city with compliments, pretending that he intended to arbitrate among them and divide their principality as was fitting, to each one. All the clan of the Sviatoslavoviches, all these brother-

24. See the preceding footnote.

25. Part of the foregoing text is missing here in all *mss.*, including *Obol.* and *Patr.*

1396 princes of Smolensk, believed his sly speech and came out, together with the boyars, to meet him with the best feelings, bringing gifts and honoring him. And so none of them remained in the city and they all left the city with their boyars to meet Vitovt Keistutovich. Then, first of all, he ordered that the senior brothers be arrested: first, Prince Gleb Sviatoslavovich, grandson of Ivan, gr. grandson of Aleksandr, gr. gr. grandson of Gleb, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Davyd—the latter being the son of Rostislav Mstislavich, grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. After him, Sviatoslav's other sons were also arrested, and he sent them to his Lithuanian land. Then Vitovt, himself, entered the city of Smolensk with his princes and boyars, bearing before them the Latin cross with sounding flutes, in the Lithuanian manner. He sojourned there some days and then went back home, after burning the suburbs, capturing many people whom he took with him, and seizing extremely large booty. In suchwise, thanks to his cunning, he appropriated the city and entire principality of Smolensk to himself, and he appointed his namestniks to the city of Smolensk: they were Prince Iakov, also called Iamont; and Vasilii Boreikov. This was the first seizure of the city of Smolensk by Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, perpetrated by his cunning and flattery. It was taken on the twenty-eighth day of the month of September, a Tuesday, when our venerable Father Chariton, the Confessor, is remembered. Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk at that time was in Riazan' with his father-in-law, Oleg Ivanovich, Grand Prince of Riazan'.

The same winter the Princess, wife of Ivan Vsevolodovich of Tver', daughter of Grand Prince Boris Konstantinovich of Nizhnii Novgorod, passed away. She was buried in the Church of the Holy Saviour in Tver'.

The same winter Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', together with his son-in-law, Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk, and with his cousins, the Princes of Pronsk, Kozelsk and Murom, waged war against Lithuania and caused them much evil.

The same winter on the twenty-seventh day of the month of December, at the seventh hour of the night, the moon disappeared and it looked bloody.

The same winter Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania campaigned against Riazan' and raided many districts. Grand

Prince Oleg Konstantinovich was not yet in Riazan' and, receiving **1396**
word of this, he left his captives in a certain place, marched against the raiders, killed many of them and captured others. Having witting of this, Vitovt took fright and quickly ran off, returning home. Oleg returned with large booty and wealth to his own land. He retained by him his son-in-law, Prince Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk, who at that time was in great grief and sadness because of his brothers' and his patrimony, for never before had such a calamity befallen Smolensk, victim of the cunning Vitovt, who insatiably robbed others' property.

[GERMANS FIGHT THE NOVGORODIAN LANDS]

The same winter Metropolitan Cyprian sent his stol'nik, Fedor Timofeev, to Novgorod, inviting Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, to Moscow, to discuss ecclesiastic matters. The Archbishop honored the Metropolitan's stol'nik, gave him sixty rubles and journeyed to Moscow, where he sojourned two days. Returning to Novgorod on Tuesday of Holy Week, he was received there with joy and peace. The same year the Germans waged war against the Korela land and occupied five towns: Kiries, Kolyvan' and others.[26] Prince Konstantin Vasilievich of Belozero marched to catch them but was unable to reach them and seized only one man, whom he sent to Novgorod.

The same year there was a portent from the icon of the Lord in the church of Saint Eupatius in Shcherkov. It looked like wine was issuing from the icon.

The same year Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, ordered that the cupola of the church of Holy Sophia, which had burned during the fire, be covered with lead.

The same year Grand Prince Vitovt of Lithuania executed Prince Ivan Mikhailovich, sent his wife and children to different places and sacked his house.

The same year Prince Semion Dmitrievich of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod gathered a large troop and together with him was the young Khan Ektiak, with Tatars. He marched to Nizhnii Novgorod, remaining a longer time at the city but he did not succeed in taking it. At that time three voevodas of Grand Prince Vasilii

26. These towns are located on and near the Baltic Sea. Kolyvan' is the Old Russian name for present Revel', or Tallin.

1396 Dmitrievich of Moscow were in the city: Vladimir Daniilovich, Grigorii Vladimirovich and Ivan Likhar'. They—Prince Semion and the Tatars—stood at the city for a long time but they did not succeed in taking it and concluded peace between them, pledging on the cross, while the Tatars gave oath according to their faith.[27] Thereafter the Tatars broke their oath, sacked all Nizhnii Novgorod and returned to their own land, to Kazan', having caused much harm. When Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow had witting of this, he sent his brother, Iurii Dmitrievich, with large forces to fight Kazan'. They marched thither, took the cities of Bulgar and Zhukotin.[28]

The same spring, two weeks before Easter, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich journeyed from Moscow to Smolensk to see his father-in-law, Vitovt, and after visiting him he returned to Moscow. Together with him at Vitovt's was also Metropolitan Cyprian, and on Easter Day he consecrated Nathan bishop of Smolensk. From thence he journeyed to Kiev, where he stayed for one year and a half.[29]

ABOUT BISHOP STEPHEN OF PERM'[30]

The same spring on April twenty-sixth, Stephen, Bishop of Perm', passed away and was buried in Moscow in the Monastery of St. Saviour in the chapel of the Merciful Saviour. About him I have to speak some words. This one was born and grew up in the city of Ustiug. His father, named Semion, was the clergyman in the cathedral church of Ustiug. The name of his mother was Maria. He there learned how to read, and while still very young he took the tonsure. Thereafter, Bishop Arsenius of Rostov consecrated him deacon and, later, Bishop Gerasimus of Kolomna consecrated him priest. Thereafter he learned the Greek language and Greek writing, and also learned the Permian language, and he created an

27. "*Rotu pili* (drank) *po svoei vere.*"

28. The translation of the last two sentences of this paragraph follow the more detailed account found in *Acad. XVII Ms.* In *Obol.* and *Patr.* the cities of Kazan' and Keremenchug are also mentioned.

29. This and the following text up to the end of the *vita* of St. Stephen of Perm is based on *Ms. Acad. XVII*, which is more detailed than *Obol.* or *Patr.*

30. The *Vita of St. Stephen of Perm'*, originally written by Epiphanius the Wise, about 1397, is one of the most poetic works of ancient Russia. In *Obol.* and even in *Acad. XVII* are only very condensed versions of it.

alphabet in the Permian language and translated [ecclesiastic] books 1396
into the Permian language.[31] There had never before been such
Permian writings. Then he expressed his desire to go to the Per-
mians to teach these unbaptized people. Receiving the Bishop's
blessing and having prayed to God, he started teaching these unbap-
tized people, went to Perm' like a sheep among wolves. He taught
them the Christian faith, converting them from idol worship and
baptizing them in the Name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and
he destroyed their idols, burning them with fire. He baptized very
many—up to one thousand people. But at the beginning hatred
arose among them and he suffered wounds and persecution from
them. After a certain time Metropolitan Pimen consecrated him
Bishop of Perm', and he returned to the land of the Permians.
Some of them learned the Permian reading and writing, and he
ordained priests and deacons [among them] and built churches,
glorifying God in them in the Permian tongue. It was wonderful
to behold [this work of Christianization] in this land, in which there
had been idol worship and devil pleasing from the beginning of
the world. They prayed to idols, to the sun, to fire, to water, to
stones, to trees, to cattle, to goats, to magicians and sorcerers, and
to the golden woman.[32]

And here are the names of those who lived in the country of
Perm', in their land and in other foreign places: the people of
Dvina; of Ustiug; of Vilaga; Vychegda; Pinega; Iug; of Ser'; of Gai;
of Viatka; the Lops; the Korela; the Ugras; the Pechora; the Voguls;
the Samoieds; the Pertas; Great Perm', also called Chud'.[33] The first
river, by the name, "Vym'," flows into the Vychegda, the other

31. Perm': a Finno-Ugric tribe which lived and still lives under the name, "Komi," in the extreme northeast of European Russia and the northern Urals.

32. "Golden woman" ("*zolotaia baba*"): a goddess, a Universal Mother, among the Finno-Ugric peoples of the north of Russia. Folk embroidery of these northern regions depict this goddess up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

33. Some of these names—as, for instance, Dvina, Vychegda, Pinega, Viatka, Pechora, remained preserved only as the names of rivers. Other names—Lops, Voguls, Korela, Samoied—are still used or have been in use until recently as the names of ethnic groups. After the Russian revolution some of the names were changed, and so the Permians are now called "Komi." This geographic discourse is unique to *Nik.* and not found in the original *Vita* by Epiphanius.

1398 river, Vychegda, runs through the entire land of Perm', then flows into northern countries and joins the river Dvina forty versts below the city of Ustiug. The third river, the Viatka, flows into the other side of the land of Perm' and joins the river Kama. This river Kama also flows through the whole land of the Permians. Along this river there are many tribes, and it flows south into the Tatar land, joining the river Volga sixty versts below the city of Kazan.

Blessed Stephen, Bishop of Perm', passed away during the rule of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich when His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, was head and shepherd [of the Russian church].[34]

In the year 6905/1397. In the month of September the Turks waged war against Byzantium and caused much evil.

The same fall in the month of September Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', grandson of Ivan, waged war against Liubotsk, and he returned home with a large number of captives.

The same winter, two weeks before Easter, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich visited his father-in-law, Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, who at that time was in Smolensk; and he and Metropolitan Cyprian remained in Smolensk, with his father-in-law, Vitovt, over Easter. On Easter Day Metropolitan Cyprian consecrated Nathan bishop of Smolensk, so from Smolensk Metropolitan Cyprian went to Kiev, where he sojourned one year and six months. But Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich returned from Smolensk to Moscow.

The same year the dowager Princess of Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich, daughter of Grand Prince Vladimir Olgerdovich of Kiev, passed away and she was buried in the Church of the Holy Saviour in Tver'.

In the year 6906/1398. In the month of September during the fourth hour of the night the moon became dark and vanished for a long while, and therefore there was great darkness.

The same fall on the holiday of the Protective Veil of the Theotokos the father-in-law of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, marched against Riazan' with all the Lithuanian forces, and he caused much evil in the land of Riazan'. They impaled people along the streets and massacred others, and much innocent blood was shed. On that

34. Beginning with this paragraph, the text again follows the *Obol. ms.*

occasion he visited in Kolomna his son-in-law, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, and he received much honor and many gifts from him. And so he returned home having spilled blood like water over the land of Riazan'. **1398**

The same fall Daniel, [the former] Bishop of Smolensk, passed away in Moscow.

The same year Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', together with his son, Prince Ivan, married his grandson, Aleksandr Ivanovich, to the daughter of Prince Fedor Mikhailovich of Mologa.

The same fall Prince Ivan Mikhailovich, of Tver', grandson of Aleksandr of Tver', together with his wife, Maria, journeyed to Lithuania to his brother-in-law, Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, whither he was sent by his father, Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver'. When he came to the Lithuanian land great honor was rendered him in every city by everyone. As he approached Vilna[35] he was met afar off from the city by Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich, himself, together with his wife-princess, his magnates, princes and boyars, and with a great many people who greeted him with love and honor. He sojourned there many days and then they let him return with great love and honor, and he went back to his father in Tver', to Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich, whom he told of Vitovt's great love, gifts and honors. It happened thus because he was married to Vitovt's sister.

The same year a stone church dedicated to Archangel Michael was built in Gorodets by Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', and it was consecrated by Arsenius, Bishop of Tver'.

The same year in Golianishchevo Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, invested Isaac as Bishop of Perm'.

The same year Prince Ivan Vsevolodich departed Tver' and went to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, and he sent to his uncle, Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', to tell him that he renounced his pledge [of fealty] on the Cross. The Grand Prince [of Moscow] received him with honor and love and gave him the city of Torzhok.

The same year Prince Ivan Vsevolodich of Tver' married in Moscow Nastasia, daughter of Grand Princess-Dowager Evdokia and the late Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich.

35. Vilno: in Lithuanian, now, Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania.

1398 The same year Khan Tokhtamysh of the Great Horde campaigned in the seashore cities.[36]

The same year Temir Khodzha, Khan Tokhtamysh's envoy, came to Riazan' to Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', and many Tatars, horses and merchants accompanied him.

The same year there came to Novgorod the envoys of Pskov, Prince Grigorii Ostafievich, posadnik Sysoi, posadnik Roman and Filip Kazachkovich; and they petitioned Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, saying, "Our Lord Archbishop! Command your [spiritual] children, the Novgorodians, to cease their enmity toward us, to accept us [as friends] and to live in concord as of yore." Lord John summoned the Novgorodians and told them, "My children, Novgorodians! You see that the latter time is approaching and we should live in love and humility among ourselves.[37] Therefore you should relinquish your enmity toward the people of Pskov and abide in love and meekness with them." The Novgorodians, including their posadnik, Timofei Iurievich, their tysiatskii, Nikita Fedorovich, and all the other posadniks, tysiatskiis and boyars, and the entire city of Novgorod, accepted this blessing from Lord Archbishop John, relinquished their enmity toward Pskov and agreed to peace and concord, as of old.

This year Khan Tokhtamysh of the Great Horde was very joyful because he was rid of his enemies, and he began sending his envoys to all countries, glorifying his name, accepting much gold, silver and gifts, and summoning the Tatars from everywhere, thus enlarging the population of the Horde. Before, he was beaten and badly defeated by Khan Temir Aksak [Tamerlane] over the last few years; but, now, unexpectedly, another khan came against him by the name, Temir Kutlui,[38] and there was a fierce battle and evil massacre between them. Khan Temir Kutlui defeated Khan Tokhtamysh, and cast him out, and himself became head of the realm of the Volga, of the Great Horde, while Khan Tokhtamysh escaped to the Lithuanian land. He contacted Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, and Vitovt was glad to have him. And so, with the remaining forces of his land, he went to Vitovt, to Kiev,

36. Apparently, the cities on the southern shore of the Crimea.

37. It was the last century of the seventh millennium after the creation of the world, according to Biblical and Byzantine chronology, when the end of the world was expected.

38. Temir Kutlui—sometimes spelled Temir Kutlugh.

together with his wives and his two sons, and he remained with Vitovt in Kiev, receiving food, supplies and all necessities from him and expecting help from him because he wanted to recover his Horde, which he had lost. 1398

The same year the Turkish Sultan, brother of Murad, besieged Constantinople with large Turkish forces both on land and on sea, and he besieged the city for a long time.[39] Then Patriarch and Emperor Manuel sent to Russia, asking for alms. Metropolitan Cyprian sent to his spiritual children, to the Grand Princes of Russia, to Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, to Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', to Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania and also to Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', as well as to many other princes, boyars and merchants, advising them to give alms because they [the Emperor and Patriarch] were in great need, being besieged by the Turks. They collected large alms, also gathering from the clergy and monasteries, and sent the money to Constantinople. The Emperor, Patriarch and all the people of Constantinople rendered their gratitude to God and sent their praise and blessings to Russia. To the Grand Prince they sent their memories and blessing, together with a wonderful icon on which the Saviour [and His Disciples] were painted in white vestments. And this icon remains on his estate in his Church of the Annunciation to the present day, on the left side, where it is venerated.

The same year[40] Prince Vasilii Ivanovich of Smolensk and Patrikei Narimantovich of Lithuania, grandson of Gedimin, came to Novgorod where they were received with honor.

The same year Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania sent to Moscow to his son-in-law, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, saying, "You should send your envoy and I will send my envoy to Novgorod, asking the Novgorodians to break the peace with the Germans."[41] And so, heeding Vitovt's advice, Prince Vasilii Dmi-

39. Sultan Murad I, 1359–1389, was killed in the battle of Kossovo. Bayazid I, reigned 1389–1402, was defeated and taken prisoner by Tamerlane in the battle of Ankara. Emperor Manuel II reigned 1391–1425.

40. 6904 in *Vozn.* and 6905 in *Novg. III.*

41. In 1398 Iagailo, grandson and cousin of Vitovt, was obliged to relinquish his claims to Lithuania and recognized Vitovt as Lithuania's only Grand Prince. Vitovt then prepared for war against the German Teutonic and Livonian Orders, which systematically conquered the north Lithuanian tribes of Prussians, Latvians, and Lithuania proper (Zemigalia). Vitovt expected that Novgorod would help him against the Livonian Order.

1398 trievich sent his and Vitovt's envoys to Novgorod, asking them [the Novgorodians] to break their peace with the Germans; but they did not obey, saying [to Grand Prince Vasilii's envoys], "Our Lord Prince! We are at peace with you and we are also at peace with the Germans, and we are also at peace with Vitovt. Do not, our Lord Prince, intervene in our affairs. Novgorod adheres to the old [tradition], as it was from the very first beginning." And so they released the envoys of Grand Prince Vasilii and Vitovt Keistutovich.

[GRAND PRINCE VASILII I AND NOVGOROD]

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow sent his boyars and troops under Andrei Alberdov beyond the Volok toward the Dvina, into the Novgorodian land, announcing to all the Dvina land, "You must accept Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow as your ruler and give up Novgorod. Then the Grand Prince will protect you against Novgorod and will stand with you." The people of the Dvina, Ivan Mikhailovich, and all the Dvina boyars recognized Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich as their ruler and pledged on the Cross their fealty to the Grand Prince. The Grand Prince also took Volok Lamskii away from Novgorod, with all its land, and Torzhok, with its land, and Bezhetskii Verkh. Then he renounced his pledge on the Cross to Novgorod, and the pledge charter. On their side, the Novgorodians renounced their pledge on the Cross and the charter of the pledge to the Grand Prince. Thereafter Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, sent his *stol'nik*, Klementii, to Novgorod the Great, to his spiritual son, Lord Archbishop John. When he arrived there he said, "My lord Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, gives his blessing to you, his spiritual son, Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, and commands you to come to Moscow in connection with ecclesiastical matters." Lord Archbishop John let the Metropolitan's stol'nik, Klementii, go to Moscow and prepared for his own journey to Moscow. Then the Novgorodian posadniks, tysiatskiis, boyars, and all Novgorod the Great tearfully petitioned their Lord Archbishop John, saying, "Our Lord Archbishop! Please give your blessing to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich and speak a good word to him for us, your children, the people of Great Novgorod." Lord John promised them to do so and the Novgorodians sent with him their own envoys, posadnik Bogdan Avvakumovich, Kyril Dmitriev and their better burghers.

1398 So John, Lord Archbishop of Novgorod, came to Moscow to his spiritual father, Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and received his blessing and was greatly honored. Then Lord Archbishop John went to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, gave him his blessing and spoke good words to him from Novgorod. The Novgorod envoys also petitioned him on behalf of Novgorod, and thereafter Lord Archbishop John told the Grand Prince, "My lord, son, Grand Prince! Please accept my blessing and take my good words [on behalf of Novgorod] into your consideration, as well as Novgorod's petition. Give up your enmity toward the city of Novgorod, toward these free men, according to the tradition of old as it started from the very beginning, so that no more bloodshed should occur during your reign. Then, my lord, son, Grand Prince, [let me remind you] that you, despite your pledge on the cross to Novgorod, nonetheless took from them the land beyond the Volok, and the cities of Torzhok, Vologda, Volok and Bezhetskii Verkh. Please, my lord, son, Grand Prince, restore them [to Novogorod] that they again should belong to Novgorod as of old, as it used to be from the very beginining. And concerning the litigation about the borderland, please give it up, my son, because it is not according to the old way." But Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich did not accept the blessing of Lord Archbishop John or the petition of the Novgorodian envoys, nor did he agree to relinquish his enmity toward Novgorod, nor did he agree to peace. Then John, Lord Archbishop of Novgorod, asked his spiritual father, Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, to come to him to Novgorod, and so he departed to Novgorod with a blessing, and the Novgorodian envoys accompanied him.

The same year the Novgorodians assembled, went to their Lord Archbishop John, saying, "Our lord! We can not abide anymore the violence of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich because he has taken away from Holy Sophia and from Novgorod the Great the cities and lands, dominions of our fathers and forefathers, as they were from the very beginning. And so, Lord Archbishop, we want to have back the cities and lands of Holy Sophia which belonged to our fathers and grandfathers." And all of them, up to the last, gave their pledge on the cross that they should have back the cities and lands of Holy Sophia and of Great Novgorod. Then posadnik Timofei Iureivich, Iurii Dmitrievich, Vasilii Borisovich, the boyars, junior boyars and outstanding burghers, merchants,

1398 and all the Novgorodians, said, "Lord Archbishop! Give us a blessing to struggle for the cities and lands of Holy Sophia. Either we have back our patrimony for Holy Sophia and Great Novgorod or we will lay down our heads for Holy Sophia and Great Novgorod!" Lord Archbishop John gave his blessing to his spiritual children, to the Novgorodian voevodas, to the entire host, because everyone in Great Novgorod had gathered there—the small and the old, the poor and paupers, and he told them: "My liege men! Go to get back our patrimony, the cities and lands of Holy Sophia!"

The voevodas of Novgorod—posadnik Timofei Iurievich, posadnik Iurii Dmitrievich, Vasilii Borisovich, and all the warriors marched beyond the Volok toward the Dvina to the town of Orlets. There they were met by Isaia from Velia, the Lord Archbishop's steward, who told them: "My lords, Novgorodian voevodas! On the very day of Easter there came into the lands of Holy Sophia, into Vel', the boyar of the Grand Prince, Andreii, together with Ivan Nikitin and the men of the Dvina. They campaigned in the lands of Holy Sophia and imposed a tax on every head; and then Prince Fedor Rostovskii came in the service of the Grand Prince to the Dvina to care for the town, to be the judge there and to levy the Novgorodian taxes. And more Dvina voevodas—Ivan and Konon, together with their companions, divided among themselves the other Novgorodian lands and the lands of the Novgorodian boyars." When the Novgorodian voevodas heard this they told their men, "O brethren! It was the cunning of our lord, the Grand Prince, who did this together with our own traitors, our own oathbreakers, with our voevodas of the Dvina; it is better , brethren, to die for Holy Sophia than to tolerate this offense."

And so they marched, campaigning, against Belozero, and occupied the lands of Belozero, capturing many people as far as the old town of Belozero. The princes of Belozero, however, came out from the very town of Belozero and petitioned the Novgorodian voevodas and their warriors, and paid them a ransom of sixty rubles. And so [the Novgorodians] took an endless number of captives, and an abundance of wealth and possessions. They also campaigned and occupied Kubena with its land, Vologda and Ustiug, fighting and taking prisoners there. They remained four weeks near Ustiug, thereafter marched to Galich, campaigning and capturing around Galich, and took numerous captives. From some captives they required a ransom, and then they abandoned some captives because

there was not enough room in their boats. From thence they 1398
marched along the Dvina to the city of Orlets, constantly campaign-
ing in the lands and towns. They came to the fortress of Orlets,
where they remained [besieging it] four weeks. They put wall-break-
ing rams there at the fortress of Orlets, and fought. The people
of the Dvina came out of the fortress, wept, and tearfully petitioned
the voevodas and the entire host of Novgorod. The voevodas and
the host accepted the petition of the people of the Dvina and gave
up their enmity. They captured, however, and executed the voe-
vodas from the land beyond the Volok—both Ivan and Konon, as
well as their guard. They put Ivan, Gerasim and Rodion in irons,
and all those who harmed the land of the Dvina.[42] From Prince
Fedor Rostovskii they took away the fees and taxes which he had
levied, but they left him and his troops alive; and then they received
a ransom of three hundred rubles from the merchants [from the
lands] of the Grand Prince, but they left them alive and released
them. As far as the people of the Dvina were concerned, they took
from them three thousand rubles and three thousand horses for
their crime, fault and treachery. So the voevodas, posadnik Timofei
Iurievich, posadnik Iurii Dmitrievich, Vasilii Borisovich Sinets, the
boyars, the junior boyars and the entire Novgorodian host marched
back to Novgorod with all their warriors, having become very
wealthy.

All the Novgorodians greatly rejoiced, meeting their brethren.
They cast down from the bridge into the river Volkhov Ivan Nikitin,
the treacherous Dvina voevoda, who had been brought to Nov-
gorod; however, Anfal, his brother, succeeded in escaping during
the march. Gerasim and Rodion were granted life but were tonsured
monks. When Anfal escaped during the march Iakov Prokofievich
with a troop of seven hundred men followed him as far as Ustiug.
At that time in the city of Ustiug was Lord Gregory, Archbishop
of Rostov, because Ustiug was part of his diocese of Rostov. Prince
Iurii Andreevich was also in the city of Ustiug. The Novgorodian
voevoda Iakov asked Lord Archbishop Gregory and Prince Iurii
and the people of Ustiug, "Do you stand for Anfal, this Novgorodian
traitor?" The Lord Archbishop, Prince and all the people of Ustiug
responded, "We do not stand for Anfal or aid him in anything,

42. Apparently, Ivan, Gerasim and Rodion were the aforementioned Novgorodian traitors.

1399 and we speak according to our pledge on the Cross and to the Grand Prince." And so Iakov continued to pursue Anfal, and he caught up with him at Bear Mountain. But Anfal, with his companions, built a stronghold there and fought with Iakov from this stronghold. At that time the people of Ustiug came to help Anfal with a detachment of two thousand men. They forgot their pledge on the cross to Novgorod and fought fiercely against Iakov on the river Sukhona near the Strel'nyi cataract. But God helped the Novgorodian voevoda Iakov and his warriors, and they slew four hundred people from Ustiug, and Anfal's companions. The others they drowned in the river Sukhona, while Anfal escaped to the city of Ustiug. Of the Novgorodian host they killed only one man, and all the others returned in good health to Novgorod.

John of Novgorod erected a strong church dedicated to the Holy Resurrection over the gates and he consecrated it, himself.

The same year Mikhail Krupa erected a stone church of St. Nicholas at the end of Chudintseva Street.

The same year Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', together with his son, Prince Ivan, erected a stone church in Novyi Gorodok dedicated to the Holy Archangel Michael.

In the year 6907/1399. Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, addressed his children, the Novgorodians: "Make peace with Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich and do not shed Christian blood." The Novgorodians thereupon sent their envoys to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich in Moscow. They were Archimandrite Parthenius, posadnik Iosif Zakharievich, tysiatskii Ananii Konstantinovich, and the outstanding burghers, Gregorii and Davyd. They agreed with the Grand Prince to have peace as of old. And he, the Grand Prince, gave them his brother, Prince Andrei Dmitrievich, as prince, and to the people of Pskov as prince he gave his son-in-law, Prince Ivan Vsevolodovich of Tver'.

The same fall Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow sent to arrest Prince Semion Dmitrievich of Suzdal', and they pursued him as far as Kazan', but he eluded them.

The same year Prince Roman Iurievich was slain on the river Sholon'.

The same year Grand Princess Sofia, wife of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich was with her children in Smolensk, visiting her father, Vitovt Keistutovich, and her mother. She spent two weeks there and she returned from her father with many gifts, with icons

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embellished with gold and silver which were very wonderful, as well as with part of the Saviour's Passion Cross. She brought all this with her to Moscow, where there was great joy.

The same year Grand Princess Maria, widow of Semion Ivanovich,[43] who was grandson of Daniel of Moscow, passed away after being tonsured a nun. As a nun she received the monastic name of Thetinia, and she was buried in the monastery of the Saviour in Moscow.

The same year Princess Maria, widow of Lugven' Olgerdovich of Volynia, grandson of Gedimin and daughter of Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich [Donskoi] passed away and her body was brought to Moscow and buried there in the stone church of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same year Prince Andreii Dmitrievich, brother of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, arrived in Novgorod, where he sojourned from the day of St. Vladimir until the day of the holy Letoprovodets, St. Simeon, whose day of commemoration concludes summer.[44] He was greatly honored by his Lord Archbishop [John of Novgorod] and by the Novgorodians, and thereafter he returned to Moscow.

The same year in Novgorod they added a stone chapel to the stone church of the Most Pure Theotokos, and the chapel was dedicated to the Holy Martyr Catherine and to Holy Alexis, Man of God. The same year Lord John, Archbishop of Moscow, together with the people of Novgorod, erected a stone church dedicated to the Holy Veil of the Most Pure Theotokos. It was built on the *Zverinets*,[45] and Lord John, himself, consecrated it.

The same year the painting of frescoes in the stone church of the Holy Archangel Michael in Moscow was completed by Theophanes the Greek. The same year there were portents in the skies, on the sun.

43. Semion Ivanovich the Proud, born 1316, Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir, 1341–1359. His dowager, Maria, at the time of her death should have been at least 65 or 70, quite an unusual age in the Middle Ages.

44. The day of St. Simeon the Stylite, Sept. 1. In central and northern Russia it was considered to be the last day of summer.

45. *Zverinets*—A court or a section of the estate reserved for the captured wild animals (zoo).

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[THE BATTLE OF VORSKLA]

The same year Khan Temir Kutlui [of the Great Horde] sent his envoys to Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, grandson of Gedimin, to tell him the following: "Extradite to me the escaped Khan Tokhtamysh because he is my enemy and I can not bear to hear that he is still alive and abides with you. The fate of man changes: one day one is the Khan, another day the same one is just a runaway; today one is rich, tomorrow he may be a pauper; today one has friends, tomorrow the friends may become enemies. I, myself, am afraid of my own people, not only of strangers. Tokhtamysh is a stranger to me, and an enemy, and even an evil enemy; therefore, turn him over to me, and whatever he has will be yours." Hearing this, Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich answered the envoy of Khan Temir Kutlui, saying, "I will not extradite Khan Tokhtamysh and I want, personally, to meet Khan Temir Kutlui." Then Vitovt, with all his princes and with all the Lithuanian forces, together with Khan Tokhtamysh and the latter's court, marched forward, and there was a very large military force.

They invaded the Tatar land [marching] against Temir Kutlui, overfilled with pride and boasting, saying, "Let us go conquer the Tatar land, to defeat Khan Temir Kutlui! Let us seize his state and divide his wealth and his possessions, and let us put at the head of the Horde Khan Tokhtamysh, who then will reign everywhere—in Kafa, in Azov, in Crimea, in Astrakhan,[46] in the horde beyond the river Iaik, [47] and the entire seashore [of the Black Sea], and in Kazan. And all this will be ours and we will command this khan. And thus we will possess not only the Lithuanian and Polish lands, but also the land of Sever, Great Novgorod, Pskov, the land of the Germans[48] and all the great Russian principalities; and I will collect the taxes and duties from all the Great Princes of Russia, and they will be submitted to us and serve us and do our will in the way we want, and we will command them."

46. Kafa: an important trade center on the Crimean shore; Azov—a fortress and trading place at the mouth of the river Don; Astrakhan—a merchant city in the delta of the Volga.

47. "Beyond the river Iaik:" Iaik is now the Ural.

48. Land of Sever—the region between Chernigov and Riazan', north of the prairie line. Its main cities were Novgorod Seversk, Kursk, Putivl', Ryl'sk. The land of the Germans—Livonia and eastern Prussia.

1399 So they marched to fight the Tatars, who were under the rule of their khan, Temir Kutlui. They went far into the Tatar prairie and camped on the banks of the river Vorskla.[49] But Khan Temir Kutlui also marched against them with his entire Tatar force to meet them at the river Vorskla.

And so he met Vitovt in an open field on the river Vorskla in the land of the Tatars, and they began to negotiate. Khan Temir Kutlui asked Vitovt, "Why have you marched against me? I have taken none of your lands, neither your cities nor towns." And Vitovt Keistutovich answered, "The Lord has submitted all lands to me, and you should also submit to me. Then you will be as my son and I will be to you as a father, and you will pay me every year the taxes and duties. In case you do not want to do thus, you will be my slave and I will put all your horde to the sword." Khan Temir Kutlui took fright and sent his envoys to Vitovt with a petition in which he expressed great affection and entreaty. He asked Vitovt Keistutovich to be merciful to him, to accept him as his son and to levy taxes and duties each year from the entire Horde, as much as they could pay. Being greatly importuned by the Khan, Vitovt agreed with this; but, in addition, Vitovt wanted all the coins of the Horde to bear the stamp of Vitovt. Khan Temir Kutlui asked Vitovt to grant him three days in which to ponder all this, and he sent Vitovt a great plenty of cattle, oxen and sheep so as to honor him.

In the meantime Emir Edigei, who was one of his lords, came to him. This Edigei was the greatest lord in all the Horde, [known to be] very courageous, strong and extremely brave. When he heard from his Khan about Vitovt and that he, Temir Kutlui, was prepared to submit to Vitovt, he told the Khan, "O Khan! It is better for us to be dead than to let this be."

So they sent their envoys to Vitovt, who was staying at that time in his train on the other bank of the river Vorskla with his armoured carts on iron chains, with many arquebuses, guns and arbalests. Edigei said, "O my good and courageous Vitovt! Let us see each other." And so they began to negotiate, speaking, for the river Vorskla was between them. Edigei, an emir of the Great Horde, told Grand Prince Vitovt of Lithuania, "It is right that you took our free Khan of the Golden Horde as your son because you

49. The river Vorskla is an eastern tributary of the Dnepr.

1399 are already old and our free Khan Temir Kutlui of the Golden Horde is young. But you should also understand this: I am older than you and you are younger than I, and therefore I should be considered by you as your father, and I should consider you my son. And then I should levy the taxes and duties every year from your entire principality, and in your principality on your Lithuanian coins there should be my stamp of the Horde."

Hearing this, Vitovt Keistutovich became greatly wroth and shouted and commanded his army to make ready for battle. It was terrifying to behold the two forces preparing for bloodshed and death. First of all, Edigei, the great lord of the Horde, marched with all his forces and clashed with Vitovt. From both sides Tatars and Lithuanians shot arbalests and arquebuses; but in the open field the canons and arquebuses were ineffective, and produced no impression. Nonetheless, the Lithuanians fought bravely, and arrows fell like rain. And the Lithuanians began to overcome Emir Edigei of the Horde. Then, however, Khan Temir Kutlui appeared with the main Tatar forces and he encircled the Lithuanian host. His men shot out the Lithuanians' horses from under them and they fought very fiercely for a long while. It was a fearsome battle, an evil massacre, and the Tatars began to prevail. And so Khan Temir Kutlui won the battle and defeated Vitovt and the entire Lithuanian force. When Khan Tokhtamysh saw this he was the first to flee. As he fled he killed as many people as ears cut during a harvest; and he robbed many Lithuanian lands.

So the Tatars captured the train [of Vitovt], the armoured carts with iron chains, the canons, arquebuses and great arbalests. They captured great and vast wealth, together with golden and silver cups. Seeing this evil, Vitovt Keistutovich turned about to escape with a small guard. The Tatars followed them for five hundred versts, up to the city of Kiev, slaying everyone and spilling blood as water.

Khan Temir Kutlui, himself, camped before the city of Kiev and let his forces disperse to all sides to campaign throughout the Lithuanian land. The Tatar troops, campaigning, marched as far as the great city of Lutsk, and they captured many cities and campaigned in many regions, devastating them. Khan Temir Kutlui received a ransom of three thousand rubles from the city of Kiev, and from the Monastery of the Caves he received thirty rubles. From thence he returned to his land of the Horde.

Throughout the entire Lithuanian land there were grief, wail- **1399**
ing and great weeping. There was a vast impoverishment of all the people. Here are the names of the slain Lithuanian princes: Grand Prince Andrei Olgerdovich of Polotsk; Grand Prince Dmitrii Olgerdovich of Briansk; his cousin, Prince Mikhailo Evnut'ievich, grandson of Gedimin; Prince Ivan Dmitrievich Kindir', stepson of Prince Andrei Dmitrievich; Prince Ivan Evlashkovich; Prince Ivan Borisovich of Kiev; Prince Gleb Sviatoslavich of Smolensk; Prince Lev Koriadovich; Prince Mikhailo Vasilievich and his brother, Semion Vasilievich; Prince Mikhailo Podberezhskii[50] and his brother, Prince Aleksandr; Prince Dmitrii Danilovich of Volynia; Prince Fedor Patrikeevich of Ryl'sk; Prince Andrei Drutskii; Prince Vspytka of Krakow; Prince Mont Toluntovich; Prince Iamont, namestnik of Smolensk. Altogether, seventy-four noble and glorious princes were killed. And who can count how many other voevodas and great boyars and Christians and Lithuanians and Russians and Poles and Germans were killed? And this happened on the twelfth day of the month of August, Tuesday, in the seventh hour of the day.[51]

[THE CATHEDRAL OF TVER']

The same year [1399] in Tver' the cathedral church of the Transfiguration of the Lord was restored. Originally in that location there stood the cathedral church of Cosma and Damian. During the reign of godloving Bishop Simeon of Tver', however, Grand Princess Oksenia of Tver', dowager of Iaroslav Iaroslavich, together with her son, Grand Prince Mikhail Iaroslavich,[52] receiving the blessing of His Holiness Maxim, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, reconsecrated this holy cathedral church in the name of the Holy Transfiguration of the Lord.

Since that time for a hundred years this church stood, until it was restored by Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich and Bishop Arsenius of Tver'. In this church of the Lord many bishops of

50. Podberezh'e: now a town about fifty kilometers northeast of Velikie Luki and west of Moscow.

51. The battle of Vorskla became a decisive event for the future of Russia: Lithuanian aggression against eastern Russia was completely stopped and Moscow remained the only contender to unite all the Russian lands.

52. Grand Prince Mikhail Iaroslavovich ruled in Tver', 1271–1318.

1399 Tver' celebrated divine and holy service. They were, first of all, Bishop Simeon under Grand Prince Mikhail Iaroslavovich; then Bishop Andrew, also under Grand Prince Mikhail Iaroslavovich; third, Bishop Barsonuphius under Grand Prince Mikhail Iaroslavovich and his sons, Dimitrii and Aleksandr, Konstantin and Vasilii; fourth was Bishop Theodore under Grand Prince Konstantin Mikhailovich; fifth was Bishop Theodore under Grand Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich.

This Bishop Theodore erected a gilt cross atop [the cupola of] this cathedral church. Then, later, in this cathedral church of the Transfiguration of the Lord he built two chapels, dedicated to the holy martyr Demetrius and to the Presentation in the Temple of the Most Pure Theotokos; he also presented to this church the copper doors and marble floors. The sixth bishop was Basil. The seventh bishop was Euthemius Vislen', under Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich. The eighth bishop was Arsenius the Wonderworker, who built the nunnery dedicated to the Most Pure Theotokos in Zheltikov and who earlier was the great archdeacon of Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and all Russia.

This happened during the reign of Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich. This Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich from his youth cared greatly for the divine churches and he erected many churches and endowed them greatly. Especially his heart burned with love for the holy cathedral church of the Transfiguration of the Lord, to which he gave much wealth for the purpose of its embellishment. And he beautifully gilt its cupola. And so, thanks to the grace of God, he could behold the cathedral, embellished with all manner of adornment, and wanted to renew it so that it would be as it used to be previously in the time when it was originally built and whitewashed. At his order the stonecutters carved the stone walls, and so the cathedral was renewed and whitewashed, as it used to be from the very beginning when it was originally built and whitewashed.[53] Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich this year suffered from sore feet.

ANCIENT STORY WRITTEN ABOUT THE LIFE OF GRAND PRINCE MIKHAILO ALEKSANDROVICH OF TVER', GRANDSON OF MIKHAIL

The same year, on the twenty-sixth of the month of August,

53. Repetitions in the text.

Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver' passed away. He was grandson of Mikhail, gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. grandson also of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod and gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii. When [before his death] he was tonsured monk and to the *schema* he received the monastic name of Matthew in place of Mikhail. On the twenty-seventh of the month of August he was buried in the cathedral church of the Transfiguration of the Lord by Bishop Arsenius and the entire Sacred Council. He ruled in the Grand Principality of Tver' for thirty-four years [1365–1399] and, altogether, he lived sixty-five years. 1399

This noble and Christ-loving Prince Mikhail was born to Grand Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich and the latter's wife, Nastasia, in Pskov. After the murder of Shchelkan Dudenievich, nephew of Khan Uzbeg of the Great Horde, his father, Grand Prince Aleksandr, could not remain in his patrimony of Tver' because he could no longer abide the Tatars' violence and persecution, nor the discord and strife among his kin, the grand princes of Russia. For this reason he withdrew to Pskov, abiding there in great grief and tribulation. There in the year 6841/1333 his son, Mikhail, was born and baptized by Basil, Lord Archbishop of Novgorod.

Having resided thirteen years in Pskov, Grand Prince Aleksandr began to grieve and sorrow and shed tears. He wept without cease, saying, "In the case I should encounter my death here, what then will happen to me and my children? Everyone will know that I fled from my principality and passed away abroad. Therefore, my children will be deprived of their principality. Better that God let me die than to live so evilly."

And so he sent his boyars to Theognost, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, seeking his blessing and that of all the bishops, and their prayers, because he had it in mind to journey to the khan of the Horde. Metropolitan Theognost and all the Russian bishops gave him their blessing and prayed for him, and he made his preparations for his journey to the Horde, intending to journey thither with his boyars and his squires.

Then he set out from Pskov for the Horde. Coming to Khan Uzbeg, he told him the following: "My sovereign Khan and lord! I have caused you much evil, but now I have come to you to receive from you either death or life, and it will be as God wills: I am ready for all. In the case, God willing, Your Majesty the Khan should pardon me, I will thank God as well as your Grace for it. In the

1399 case you turn me over to death, I deserve this death, and here is my head before you."

Khan Uzbeg was astonished by the sweetness of his words and by his humility, and he told his lords, "Do you see this Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich of Tver', how he has succeeded in escaping death by his humble wisdom?" All marvelled, and Khan Uzbeg honored him greatly and granted him his patrimony, the Grand Principality of Tver', and released him to Russia.

He came to the Grand Principality of Tver', and [the Khan's] envoys, Kindzhak and Abdullah, arrived with him. He sent thereupon to Pskov to have his wife-Princess and his children brought to Tver'; but he let his son, Fedor, go with the Khan's envoys, Kindzhak and Abdullah, to Khan Uzbeg of the Horde. Nevertheless, he did not make peace with Grand Prince Ivan Danilovich of Moscow; so when Prince Fedor Aleksandrovich of Tver' arrived in the Horde and came to Khan Uzbeg, Khan Uzbeg was very wroth toward Grand Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich and his son, Fedor, because they both had been calumniated by some people.[54] The Khan summoned Aleksandr from Tver' to the Horde, and there he was killed, together with his son, Fedor, there in the Horde.

At that time the other son, Prince Mikhail, was very young, only nine years old; and he went to Novgorod to his godfather, Archbishop Basil of Novgorod, to learn there. The Archbishop gave him as tutor his archdeacon, a God-fearing and Christ-loving man, to teach him reading and writing, as well as the entire spiritual instruction and Christian doctrine. The youth rapidly learned reading and writing, as well as spiritual wisdom and teaching. He would pass most of his time in church, eschewing children's games and entertainments, caring, rather, for divine scripture and listening attentively to the speech of wise and well-minded men. Especially, he observed the instructions and lessons of his spiritual father, His Holiness Lord Basil, which he greatly enjoyed and absorbed.

When he ascended to the throne of his fathers and grandfathers, the Grand Principality of Tver', then, thanks to the grace of God, the sons of Tver' received many good things from him because he was a God- and man-loving person. During his reign highwaymen, robbers and litigators disappeared. Innkeepers and evil tax and fee collectors were cast out, and there were neither

54. Tver' was the main contender of Moscow for leadership over Russia, and this struggle often caused them both to look to the Khan for aid.

violence nor robbery anywhere, everyone abode in tranquility, humility, meekness and concord. This happened because this prince always had the Name of God on his lips and glorified God, respected the bishops, loved and honored priests and monks, embellished the churches, gave satisfaction to all and consoled the sorrowful. People gathered there [in the land of Tver'] from all parts, and the cities of the land of Tver' grew. His enemies were frightened by his prayers and his respect for God. Some he defeated with arms, and the sons of Tver' glorified his name because he was merciful and fed the poor; **1399**

He helped those in misfortune,
He visited the ill,
He fed the hungry,
He gave the thirsty to drink,
He clothed the naked,
He was dreaded by evil people,
He was wrathful toward them, but
He was merciful and well-disposed toward good people.
He loved spiritual discussions,
He hated cursing and shameful words,
He read Divine Scripture and enjoyed this reading,
He listened attentively to those who read the Scripture.
He learned the martial arts from everywhere.
He was well skilled in them.
He was valiant and stalwart.
His enemies feared him.
On all occasions he defended his patrimony and
He was as a child-loving father toward all.
Especially, he respected and loved the bishops of Christ,
He honored priests and monks more than princes.
He was generous toward monastics.
He was compassionate toward them and
He would embrace them with tender tears.
He behaved toward them with a well-disposed heart, and
He enjoyed beholding them as if they were God's angels.[55]

55. This panegyrical discourse follows the rhythmic pattern of the *Encomium of Boris and Gleb*, see Vol.I, year 1015; see also Abramovich, D. I., *Zhitiia sv. muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhby im*, Petrograd, 1916. The versions of this *vita* of Prince Michael preserved in the chronicles of Tver' are less ornamental than the *Nik.* version. See *Rogozhskii Letopisets* and *Tverskaiia Letopis* in *PSRL*, XV, p. 175.

1399 In the same way did he esteem priests, whom he called "princes of the church," because he would say, "They are the great servants of God and are more honorable than we, ourselves." He especially manifested good morals and great faith in God, demonstrating these by his actions, setting a good example for all princes who want to rule on this earth. Therefore Lord God loved him greatly and bestowed many gifts upon him, crowning him with glory and honor, and glorified him in all countries. It was He Who said, "I glorify him who glorifies Me." Therefore the Lord placed him over many tribes and people came to him from many countries. The sons of alien peoples toiled for him because he loved God and God loved him. He [God] said, "I will love him who loves Me, and those who seek Me will receive grace."

When the thirty-fourth year of his reign in the Grand Principality of Tver' was coming to an end, that very year he renovated the cathedral church of the Transfiguration of the Lord. [The same year—1399] the envoys of Tver' returned to him from Constantinople: they were Daniel, Archpriest of the cathedral of St. Michael; and Koloian,[56] whom Prince Mikhail of Tver' dispatched to Constantinople two years earlier with donations for the cathedral of St. Sophia [in Constantinople], for the Patriarch and for the [Byzantine] Emperor because it was his habit to send frequent alms thither to the cathedral church of St. Sophia and to the Patriarch.

The Emperor and Patriarch greatly honored these envoys and let them return home. With them the Patriarch sent his own envoy, Archimandrite German, with his blessing and with an icon depicting the Last Judgment, with holy relics, and with holy and valued myrrh. As they approached the city the noble one [Prince Mikhail] told them not to enter therein because evening was drawing nigh and, filled with spiritual joy, he attended with all his heart upon the blessing and prayers of His Holiness the Patriarch.

He thought that he should commence the good road with the prayers of His Holiness—a road trod by good people and by those who had received the unspeakable and wonderful blessing, because he had the monastic life in mind and wanted to receive angelic monastic orders, for which he had longed many years with an

56. Most probably, *Kala Ian*, meaning "good (father) John," from *kala* (Greek, "good") and *Iani* (Greek diminutive of John). Several Balkan rulers bore this name.

ardent heart, and because he sought with tender tears to be ton- 1399
sured, feeling that God's angels accept a monk with love.

At that time his mind turned from the perishable to the imperishable, from the short-lived to the eternal, and he said, "In case Lord God grants me grace to see and meet the lifegiving icon which comes from the Holy Place[57] and to receive a blessing from the Holy Patriarch and the Oecumenical Council, My Lord God is my witness that thereafter I will not return to my home because this icon will be my guide to the eternal path." He spent the night awake, praying to God with tears of humility and saying, "Lord! For the sake of Thy mercy, grant it me to receive in the morning the holy angelic orders; then, oh My Lord, please count me, an unworthy man, among Thy holy selected flock because all Thy friends have always been respected by me, My God; and then with all of them I will chant Thy might."

On the morrow, Tuesday, in the company of his noble son, the princes, boyars and others who sought an audience with him concerning customary problems of state administration, he said that no one should enter his chamber, and he told his sons and the others to leave him, summoning to him solely blessed Bishop Arsenius. He held counsel with him at length and then said, "My father! You behold me, an unworthy man, whom the Man-loving God has granted many years of tranquil life. During these years I have enjoyed good health, and these many days have I spent unharmed. I have been esteemed with honor among men and much wealth has been bestowed on me. Albeit, despite all this I fear that this Blessed and Immortal Giver may one day require of me to render an account of all that He has given me, but I will then be as the lazy servant who, not expecting his master, carelessly lost everything entrusted to him. Now, my honorable father, please pray Lord God to grant me today to be tonsured into monastic orders by your worthy hand, and to aid me by your holy prayers so that I not weaken in this decision in the face of these perishable and earthly beauties and commit a sin."

Blessed Bishop Arsenius saw this man burning greatly with divine fire and realized that his spirit was aflame with love for Christ. Thereupon he began to discuss with him many questions about divine scripture, bringing them into his well-intentioned heart

57. That is, Mt. Athos.

1399 so that this warrior for Christ might be strengthened [in his decision] to relinquish the glory of this world and put aside the honors of this vain and short-lived kingdom. The Prince and Bishop spoke at length and, finally, the Grand Prince said, "Honorable father! I hope that the Lord, thanks to your prayers and His mercy, will look favorably upon that for which I long now. But you, my father, keep this decision to yourself so that neither my sons nor my Princess pity me. And please summon this day all the Sacred Council so that all archimandrites, abbots and others assemble to meet the holy icons."

The Bishop departed from the noble Prince and ordered that the envoys [from Constantinople] should enter the city. From this time a rumor spread throughout all the city that Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich intended to give up his reign and wanted to be tonsured into monastic orders. People marvelled greatly, although some disbelieved what was said, and people gathered in expectation of this wonderful miracle. The boyars and his pages bowed, one to another, shedding tears; his wife-Princess and his sons also wept in his absence because none dared to speak for fright as he was a fearsome man with the heart of a lion.

The envoys, first of all, went to the city, bearing with them holy and priceless treasures, while the Bishop, the entire Sacred Council, and a multitude of people issued out of the city with candles and censers to meet the holy icon, rejoicing and glorifying God. Good-minded Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich, himself, rose up from his couch with great effort and went out to meet the icons in his court near the church of St. Michael.

When he had met and beheld the great holy icon, his spirit rejoiced and his heart was glad. With tears of joy he bowed before it, making the sign of the cross with awe and faith, thanking God and saying, "Regard not my tears, My God, because I am but a pilgrim and newcomer to Thee, just as were all my forefathers. But permit me to approach Thee [becoming a monk] before I depart [forever] and am no longer here. But, My Lord, how may I express to Thee my gratitude for thus bestowing upon me Thy mercy to meet and behold this icon which represents the Last Judgment and which is the last blessing of His Holiness the Patriarch and the Oecumenical Council? Glory to Thee, glory to Thee, Man-loving God Who art so generous in His mercy because, out of Thy endless mercy Thou gavest me, a mighty sinner and undeserving

man, that which my heart sought. Glory to Thee, My God!" The **1399**
envoys turned over to him the charter of His Holiness the Patriarch and the entire Sacred Council, which contained the message of peace, of blessing and of absolution.

The Prince told the Bishop to place the holy icon in the palace church of St. [Archangel] Michael and to chant thanksgiving hymns to Lord God. The Bishop and entire Sacred Council, all in bright vestments, rendered the thanksgiving hymns to Lord God and prayed to His Most Pure Mother. The Prince, himself, wise in God, also prayed with his whole heart and many tears, and thanked Lord God. After conclusion of the service the Prince offered a great divine offering to the Bishop, to the entire Sacred Council, and to people of little means, and the latter were amply provided. Unstinted largesse was bestowed upon the clergy and distributed among the indigent. Then the Prince asked that the holy icon be borne before him into the cathderal church of the Holy Saviour and he, himself, joyfully followed after. They placed the holy icon on the right side near the holy altar. And since the Prince [thanks to the grace of God] was enabled to meet the holy icon as well as to receive the covenant of blessing from His Holiness the Patriarch and the Oecumenical Council, he thus received all he desired—which was for him, in the words of King David, a great spiritual benefit.

He greatly rejoiced, venerated the holy icons in the cathedral church, and, as he had promised, did not return to his home because he gave up all [earthly] honor; he forsook his rank of prince; he departed from the church by the main gate, and many people had already assembled. Standing on the top step before the church, he bowed to all the people, asking everyone for forgiveness,and told them, "My brethren! My host! Good sons of Tver'! Lord God has commanded me to abide with you till now; but now you must forgive me because I leave to you my favorite and senior son, Ivan, who will be your prince in my stead. Endow him with the same love with which you endowed me. And he, for the Sake of God, will care for you in the same way as did I."

When the people heard this they shed many tears, wept bitterly and said, "Where are you going? Why are you now departing from us? You were the guardian of the great liberties of Tver' and of the honorable glory of the sons of Tver'. You were the great protector of the city of Tver', which you always guarded as an eagle

1399 watches over its nest. During your reign the sons of Tver' were honored in other countries and were never harmed." There was great wailing among the people, and he bowed humbly to all in expression of his endless love. He departed from them in peace, going to the monastery of St. Athanasius to be tonsured there.

Oh, what a touching sight worthy of tears! Who would not shed tears, beholding all this? The Grand Prince was glorious in all countries and was dreaded by all warriors. Now he forsook the great glory of his reign and humbly directed his feet toward the monastery, humbly requested the Bishop to tonsure him. The very reverend Bishop Arsenius, tearfully thanking Lord God, tonsured him and clothed him in the holy angelic monastic vestments, giving him the monastic name of Matthew. And the people exclaimed, "Verily! Lord God has not deprived the people of the good will of His grace! The eyes of God are upon those who respect Him! Blessed be God because He gives to those who respect Him whatsoever they desire!"

Matthew, a man of good soul and no longer with power but, rather, with humility, went [in the monastery] to Brother Monk Gregory and asked permission to share and lie down in his cell, and gave him alms. According to the will of Lord God, Who arranges the lives of all men, this Matthew, strong in spirit, soon thereafter fell ill. On the fourth day he summoned the Bishop and asked him to tonsure him to the *schema*. The Bishop, rejoicing spiritually, tonsured him to the *schema* and placed a cowl [on the Prince's head]. He chrismated him with holy oil and gave him the communion of the most pure gifts of Christ's ministry. Thanks to the grace of God, he did not greatly suffer from his sickness. He was able to sit up and to make the necessary movements. Then he summoned the abbots and priests from all the city and, when they drew near, with his own hands he distributed much silver among them for memorial services, which customarily last forty days [after death]. And he commanded them to write down his name for the memorial services; and so they [the clergy] before his eyes, as he gazed upon them, wrote down his name, Matthew. And so, thanks to God's grace, he abode eight days in the holy monastic angelic order. Toward the end of the eighth day, on Tuesday evening, his worthy sons visited him. He gave them his final blessing and released them, but he asked Archimandrite Cornelius and priest monk Parthenius to stay with him, requesting them to chant the hymns

which are sung when the soul departs from the body. As they 1399
concluded the hymns his time drew nigh. He stretched out his legs,
which so beautifully had aided him in eschewing the glory of this
world, and blessed Matthew humbly passed away, leaving the world
in the good faith of Lord God, whom he had always loved.

Because of his faith there happened to be present Sabbas and
Spiridon, reverend monks from holy Mt. Athos, men of great
spirituality, and they enveloped the body of the blessed one accord-
ing to their monastic habits which they observed at the great holy
mountain [of Athos]. He passed away in the monastery of St.
Athanasius, Tuesday, very late in the evening, and at once the
whole city learned of his passing, whereupon the people wept in
their homes; and throughout that night the entire city was seized
by great grief. On the morrow, as Wednesday broke, people from
the entire city assembled: men, women, servants and the poor,
children of paupers, the aged and infirm—all came, saying, "Let
us render a last tribute to our good visitor." Blessed Bishop Arsenius
summoned the entire Sacred Council and the archimandrites, ab-
bots, priests and deacons from all the city approached the couch
of the blessed one with burning candles and censers, all in bright
vestments. The Bishop directed that his worthy body be buried in
the great cathedral church in the vicinity of his forefathers.

His noble sons greatly bewailed him. Everyone took heed of
the pitiable lamenting and tears of his favorite and senior son,
noble Ivan, who, weeping, mourned, "My father! My father! My
sweet and beloved lord! The dear light of my eyes! Blessed tutor
and guide of my youth! I always rejoiced, beholding the bright
beauty of thy face, as if it were the face of an angel of God! But
now who will console the deep grief of my heart, for henceforth I
am abandoned by thy sweet and endless love? And, moreover, I
will never see your blessed and beloved face again. I will henceforth
be unable to embrace your honorable, good hoary head. I will
henceforth no longer be able to enjoy thy beautiful counsel. I will
no more hear your quiet instructions and your blessed voice." He
spoke more, weeping and grieving in his heart.

The noble princes lifted up the body of their blessed, beloved
father. There was an endless multitude of people—men, women
and children—all bewailing [their prince] greatly, and everyone
wanted for the last time to behold their beloved lord. They lamented
with heartfelt grief, shedding tears of sadness, mourning separation

1400 from the sweet love of their lord. There were present many wealthy merchants from diverse countries and they, too wept copiously, beholding how great were the people's lamentations; and they said, one to another, "See how this city loved its prince!" Then they said, "Verily! The city of Tver' is blessed because for a long time it has beheld such spiritual beauty before its eyes."

The Bishop and the entire Sacred Council, in white vestments with candles and censers, venerably followed the body. They bore it into the cathedral church and, because of the vast lamentation, it was impossible to hear the chanting. Then they intoned the funeral chants, shedding many tears, embraced him for the last time and gave him the customary blessing and forgiveness, bearing God in their minds. And they buried him on the right side of the great cathedral church of the Holy Saviour. His noble son, Ivan, beholding such indescribable love in the people for his father, prayed to Lord God with many tears that he might be able to follow in his father's steps, and he pardoned those who were in the courts or being punished. Speaking humbly, he gave meek solace to all and most piously consoled the sons of Tver'. All hearts were conquered by sweet love for this noble [prince] who was beloved by all for his good nature.

[End of the story about Grand Prince Mikhail of Tver']

In the year 6908/1400. There was a portent on the sun in the sky.

[EVENTS IN TVER']

The same fall Prince Ivan Mikhailovich [of Tver'], grandson of Aleksandr, sent his messengers, Fedor Guslen' and Konstantin, to the Horde to Khan Temir Kutlui announcing the passing of his father and requesting the bestowal of his patrimony, the domain of his father and forefathers, the Khan's *ulus,*[58] the Grand Principality of Tver'. That same year, however, Khan Temir Kutlui died in the Horde and, after him, Shadi Beg became Khan of the Great Horde of the Volga. The messengers of Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' arrived in the Horde, presented the gifts of Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' to Khan Shadi Beg, to his wives and to his lords. The Khan granted his *ulus,* the Grand Principality of Tver',

58. *Ulus*: a Tatar word used in the fifteenth-century in Russia meaning "dominion," "region," part of an empire, sometimes the entire Tatar empire—the Horde—itself.

to Prince Ivan Mikhailovich according to the tradition of the latter's father and grandfather. Fedor Guslen' and Konstantin departed from the Horde, from Khan Shadi Beg, with honors. With them was [the Khan's] envoy, Safriak. They brought the *iarlyks*[59] for the Grand Principality of Tver' to Prince Ivan Mikhailovich, as it used to be in the time of his father and forefathers. 1400

The same fall Prince Ivan Vsevolodovich of Tver' established contacts with Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', whither he journeyed with his wife-Princess and with his boyars; and both of them agreed on peace and concord between them. During that year, however, the princes abode only briefly in peace and concord between them. God let it be thus because of human sins and because of the actions of the enemy. He [Prince Ivan] wanted to harm his own kin and commanded the boyars to forsake their pledge on the cross; thuswise he put an end to his agreement with his brothers—with Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich, Prince Fedor Mikhailovich and [his nephew] Prince Ivan Borisovich.[60]

Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich went to his mother, Grand Princess Evdokiia, and told her, "Our brother's [Ivan's] boyars pledged on the cross on our behalf. Our father instructed them that they should wish us only good." Their mother, Grand Princess Evdokiia, sent her boyars to [her son] Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich, whilst her [other] children—Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich and Prince Fedor Mikhailovich—and her grandson, Prince Ivan Borisovich, also sent him their boyars, saying, "Our lord Grand Prince! Your boyars apparently have given their pledge on the cross concerning us not according to the covenant of our late father, Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich. You, our lord Grand Prince, should command them, your boyars, to observe their pledge on the cross according to the covenant of our father.

But Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich answered them the following: "Our boyars pledged on the cross on your behalf according to my instructions." From that time Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich began to behave inimically toward his mother, Evdokiia, and his brothers, Vasilii and Fedor, and toward his nephew, Prince Ivan Borisovich. He behaved in an unfriendly fashion toward them. The Princess, dowager of Boris, who was from the Smolensk line of the

59. *Iarlyk*: "patent," in Tatar.
60. Baumgarten, Table viii.

1400 Princes, took her son [Ivan Borisovich] and her boyar, Voronets, to Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', following the example of the ancient *But*.[61]

Arriving there, she approached him, saying, "We, my son and I, our lord, did not send our boyars to you." From that time on the Grand Prince waxed still more hostile toward his kin and paid heed to evil flattery, liking their [the boyars'] evil fawning. The same year Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich came to his patrimony of Kashin, the old domain of his father.[62]

[END]

The same year John, Archbishop of Novgorod, laid the foundation of a fortress called Detinets. The same year the church of the Holy Resurrection of Christ, which is located over the gate, was adorned with frescoes, on the order of Archbishop John of Novgorod. The same year the Novgorodians sent their envoy, Klimentii Vasilievich, to Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania concerning peace and concord. They confirmed peace as of yore.

The same year in the region of Cherlenyi Iar near the Khoper and Don rivers Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich [of Riazan'], together with the princes of Pronsk, Murom and Kozel'sk, slew a great many Tatars and captured the khan's son, Mamat Saltan, as well as many other lords of the Horde.[63]

[SMOLENSK AND VITOVT]

The same year the supporters of Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk, who greatly esteemed him and would fain have him again as grand prince of Smolensk, in secret sent messengers from Smolensk to him in Riazan'. He [Prince Iurii] was there with his father-in-law [Prince Oleg] in Riazan' because Vitovt had captured Smolensk. Some, however, preferred Vitovt; but a great many desired to have as ruler Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich, to rule as of old in the land of his father and forefathers. They came secretly to Riazan' and related all the happenings [in the Smolensk

61. *But*: unclear.

62. In the *Nik.* text and in *Rogozhskii sbornik* (*PSRL* XV, 175), *na godinu otsa svoego. Godina*: a rare and not quite clear word; in this case, possibly, "old domain," or "domain as of yore."

63. Mamat Saltan: probably, Mahmet Sultan.

land] to their lord, Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk. He went to his father-in-law, Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', and told him, "My men of Smolensk have come to me from Smolensk, being sent secretly by my supporters. They told me that many people want to see me in the land of my father and forefathers. My lord! For the sake of Christ's love, do something to succour me and to put me back onto the throne of my father and forefathers of the Grand Principality of Smolensk!" He spoke thuswise with great weeping, wailing and the shedding of tears as rivulets. **1401**

In the year 6909/1401. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' and Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania confirmed peace and concord amongst themselves. The same fall Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' took from his brother, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, Lake Lukoe and [a site called] *Vkhod Ierusalima* ["Entrance to Jerusalem"] and gave them to his nephew, Prince Ivan Borisovich. Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, however, sent Bishop Arsenius of Tver', spiritual father of them all, [to Ivan] asking for a trial of common justice for all of them. Nevertheless, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich replied, "I will accept no discussion of it." And so Prince Vasilli Mikhailovich went to his patrimony of Kashin. There a son was born to him by his wife-Princess Nastasiia. Then his mother, Grand Princess Evdokiia Mikhailovna, came to Kashin to him, while from the monastery of St. Sergius [and Holy Trinity] there came Abbot Nikon who baptized his son, giving him the name, Dmitrii, in holy baptism. The coming of his mother and abbot Nikon and the birth of his son were a great joy for him. And his son was baptized by abbot Nikon and Princess Evdokiia, and he was at the holy baptism. He was called Dmitrii.

The same year there were found [parts of the wooden Cross of] the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which once were brought from Constantinople by God-loving Bishop Dionysius of Suzdal', who had acquired them for a high price and obtained them because of his faith and love [for God], and then with great difficulties brought them [to Russia]. They were hidden for a certain time in the city of Suzdal', having been walled up in the stone wall of the church. But this spring they were found and were brought to Moscow, where they were met with veneration by a procession of the entire clergy and the whole city.

1401

[TAMERLANE AND BAYAZID]

This same year it was seven years since Bayazid, the Turkish Sultan, besieged the city of Constantinople with his host. Having witting of this, Tamerlane straightway marched against him with vast forces intending, himself, to seize Constantinople. When Bayazid of Turkey learned of this he retreated from Constantinople and marched against Khan Tamerlane. Coming together, they clashed in combat and there was a long and grievous battle between them, a multitude falling on both sides; albeit, Tamerlane defeated the Turks, killing many of them, and many others were captured. Bayazid, himself, Sultan of Turkey, was slain in this battle, while his son escaped with a few men and sent his envoys to the Emperor of Constantinople, suing for peace and concord. Since his father, Sultan Bayazid, had taken several Greek cities, he gave them up and concluded peace with the Greeks across the sea.[64]

Tamerlane thereupon wanted to march from thence against Constantinople with his host; but, being extremely proud and having numberless forces which were always increasing, he sent against King Digman.[65] Thereafter, however, the cruel Khan Tamerlane fell ill and died. After him, his son assumed his realm. And so Constantinople and all Christians were saved from the pagans by God's grace.

[CYPRIAN DISCIPLINES JOHN OF NOVGOROD]

The same year Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, journeyed from Novgorod to Moscow to Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. He was summoned thither for ecclesiastical [administrative] reasons. He sojourned with Metropolitan Cyprian for the purpose of punishment and humbling till he, himself, learned how to think and act humbly so that there be good example shown to others. Spiritual benefits are achieved not by pride and submission but by meekness and humility. The same year there was a council in the month of July in Moscow in which there participated His

64. Ottoman Sultan Bayazid was not killed but only wounded in this battle of Ankara, and was captured by Tamerlane. He died in captivity soon after. The battle of Ankara took place in July, 1402. It has already been mentioned under the year 1395 in connection with Tamerlane's attempted invasion of Russia.

65. It is unclear who King Digman was.

Holiness, Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and all Russia, and nine bishops: Archbishop John of Great Novgorod; Archbishop Isaak of Chernigov; Archbishop Gregory of Rostov; Nathaniel, Bishop of Suzdal'; Euphrosinius, Bishop of Riazan'; Arsenius, Bishop of Tver'; Theognost, Bishop of Sarai [in the Horde] and of the land of the river Don; and Gregory, Bishop of Kolomna; and Sabbas, Bishop of Lutsk. During this sacred council Archbishop John of Novgorod gave an account concerning his diocese. At the same sacred council Bishop Sabbas of Lutsk also gave an account about his diocese. His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, instructed them [John and Sabbas] not to leave him nor depart from Moscow because they [were found guilty and] chastised by Metropolitan Cyprian for certain ecclesiastic dealings, so that they would benefit and have greater opportunity for salvation; and not only they, themselves, but also so that other people might thus also benefit. Nothing destroys the demonic nets as do meekness and humility. **1401**

The same year Prince Ivan, son of Vladimir, grandson of Andrei, great grandson of Ivan, gr. gr. grandson of Daniel of Moscow, married Vasilisa, the daughter of Prince Fedor Olgovich of Riazan'.

[THE STRUGGLE FOR SMOLENSK]

The same year Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', together with his son-in-law, Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk, and with his kin, the princes of Pronsk, Murom and Kozel'sk, marched on Smolensk waging war, considering that the time was meet because at that moment Vitovt Keistutovich was very poor in men-at-arms after his defeat by Temir Kutlui on the river Vorskla in the open prairie in the Tatar land. At that time there was great grief and depopulation in Lithuania, and there was subversion in Smolensk. Some were for Vitovt, others wanted their hereditary grand prince, Iurii Sviatoslavovich.[66] So they [Iurii and Oleg of Riazan'] approached the city of Smolensk and Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich sent to them, announcing, "In case you do not open the gates of the city and do not accept your lord, Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk, to rule in the land of his father and forefathers in the Grand Principality of Smolensk, then I will be-

66. The line of Iurii Sviatoslavovich had ruled in Smolensk since olden times.

1401 siege you lengthily and will submit you to the sword and to fire. Make your choice, what you want—death or life." So they surrendered and many rejoiced, once more to have Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavovich as their lord; but some still hated him. And so in the month of August he entered the city of Smolensk and put to the sword Vitovt's Polish voevodas. At that time Prince Roman Mikhailovich of Briansk was Vitovt's namestnik and voevoda; and he [Iurii] slew him, and also put to death the boyars of Briansk and Smolensk who did not want to accept him. But he let Roman's Princess-dowager and their children depart. And so Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk ascended to the Grand Principality of Smolensk in the city of his father and forefathers, while Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', with other princes and with all his troops, campaigned in Lithuania and returned to their own land with many captives.

[NOVGOROD—MOSCOW CONFLICT]

The same year despite the covenant of peace and concord confirmed between the Novgorodians and Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, Anfal Nikitin and Gerasim Rastriga [the Defrocked] with soldiers of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich came stealthily into the region of the Volok and Dvina. This happened on St. Peter's Day [June 29]. They campaigned and captured people, robbed churches and monasteries, put many Christians to the sword and hanged others on trees. They took prisoner the [Novgorodian] posadniks in the Dvina region—Andrei Ivanovich, Osip Filipovich, Naum Ivanovich and Dmitrii Rostislavovich—whom they took with them, as well as many others they had captured; and they took them into captivity. Thereupon the Novgorodian voevodas Stefan Ivanovich, his brother Mikhailo, and Nikita Golovnia mustered the men under their command in the Vaga river region and pursued Anfal and Gerasim Rastriga. They fought with them at Kholmogory[67] and liberated their Novgorodian boyars, Andrei, Osip, Naum and Dmitrii. At the same time, despite the peace, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich sent his troops under his boyars against Torzhok under Aleksandr Polé.[68] There were three hundred people with

67. Kholmogory: a city on the lower northern Dvina, south of present Arkhangel'sk.

68. Aleksandr Polé: the name of Voevoda. Torzhok was already Novgorodian territory.

him, and they captured Semion Vasilievich, a posadnik's son, and Mikhail Feofilovich, then returned home . They confiscated their possessions, robbed the holy churches, slaughtered some people and, having caused much evil, retreated home. 1402

The same year in the month of August at night on the eve of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, from midnight till dawn there was an apparition in the sky: columns of fire whose top ends looked bloody, and it was horrifying to behold them.

[PRINCE OF SUZDAL' ACCEPTS MOSCOVITE SUPPREMACY]

The September year 6910/1402.[69] Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich sent his voevodas Ivan Andreevich Uda and Fedor Glebovich, and with them his troops, to seek out Prince Semion Dmitrievich of Suzdal' and to find either him or his Princess-wife, his children and his boyars, who were hiding in the Tatar land. They marched into the Mordva land and at a site called Tsylirtsa, near the church of St. Nicholas which was erected by the formerly Moslem Hadzhi Baba,[70] they found Princess Aleksandra, wife of Prince Semion Dmitrievich; and after robbing her they seized her and brought her to Moscow with her children. They were held under guard in the Beleut' Estate until Prince Semion Dmitrievich reappeared and made his submission to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. He happened to be in the land of the Horde, fleeing from Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow. Learning that his Princess and his children, as well as his treasury, had been seized, he sent a petition to the Grand Prince, pledged his fealty, and with great emotion and humility requested safe conduct. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich gave him safe conduct and so he returned to Moscow from the Horde, made an agreement with the Grand Prince and went from Moscow to Viatka with his Princess and his children. He was already ill and, after sojourning in Viatka five months, he worsened sorely and passed away on the twenty-first day of the month of December.

69. Beginning with this yearly entry, the chronicle apparently switches completely to the Byzantine calendar, according to which the New Year commenced on September 1. The Old Slavic New Year, which started on March 1 after September, was apparently definitely abandoned. See the Introduction to Volume I, Section 5, of this series: "Puzzles of the Calendar and of Chronology." *Ed.*

70. Hadzhi Baba was later Christianized.

1402 This Prince Semion Dmitrievich of Suzdal' and Nizhnii Novgorod endured many misfortunes, suffering tribulations both in the Horde and in the Russian land. He persevered, trying to obtain his patrimony, and for eight years, without rest, served four khans in the Horde at one stretch: first, Tokhtamysh; second, Tamerlane; third, Temir Kutlui; fourth, Shadi Beg. All that time he was attempting [to incite them] to fight Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow in order to recover his patrimony, the Principality of Nizhnii Novgorod, Suzdal' and Gorodets. Consequently, he had many tribulations, suffered many trials and endured misfortunes, not having any home of his own nor finding any place to rest his weary feet. But he achieved nothing at all, merely endeavored in vain. "Vain is human effort because everything is possible for God; but nothing, for man." [Variation of Ps. 39:6–9.]

The same winter Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania marched, waging war, against Smolensk, against Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavovich of Smolensk. He besieged Smolensk for many days but was unable to take it and accepted an armistice, then returned home. At that time there was conflict in the city of Smolensk and many conspirators were killed. Likewise then there was a plague among the people of Smolensk.

The same fall, on the twenty-ninth day of the month of October, the sun became obscured and darkness spread. Then, however, the sun reappeared, shedding bloody rays with smoke.

The same fall the Tatars raided the Riazan' frontiers,[71] caused much evil and returned home.

PORTENT. The same winter during Lent in the month of March there appeared a portent in the west, and it happened at dusk: there appeared a very great star in the shape of a lance. A huge ray shone over it. Ever moving, it was seen for twelve days, appearing in the east and disappearing during the summer dusk in the west. This portent appeared because people rose up to fight one another: Turks, Poles, Hungarians, Germans, Lithuanians, Czechs, the Horde, Byzantium, Russia and many other lands; and countries were in tumult, and fought each other. Besides that, plagues began to spread.

The same winter in the month of March Prince Ivan Vsevolodich of Tver' passed away during Holy Week on Monday at

71. That is, *Riazanskie Ukrainy*.

the time of the Eucharist. [Before his death] he was tonsured to monastic and schema orders. He was buried within the fortress of Tver' and bequeathed his patrimony to his son, Grand Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich. 1403

The same year on the sixth day of the month of March Michael, Bishop of Smolensk, passed away and was buried in the monastery of the Holy Trinity and St. Sergius.

The same year Prince Rodoslav Olgovich of Riazan' waged war against Briansk but was met there by Lithuanian princes—Prince Semion Lugvenei Olgerdovich, Prince Aleksandr Patrikeevich of Starodub, and Prince Buinos Ivanovich. They fought a fierce battle near Lubutsk and the Lithuanians won the battle, defeating the men of Riazan' and killing the others. They captured Prince Rodoslav Olgovich, himself. They led him to Vitovt Keistutovich, where he remained in captivity and great tribulation for three years; thereafter, however, Vitovt Keistutovich obtained three thousand rubles in ransom for him and let him return to Riazan'.

The same year on the fifth day of the month of July Grand Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan' passed away after being tonsured to monastic and schema orders. [As a child this Prince] Oleg was baptized with the name Iakob; but at his tonsure he received the name Ioachim and was buried in Riazan' in the city of his father and his forefathers beyond the river Oka, in his monastery named Solocha. Then his son, Prince Fedor, journeyed with gifts to the Horde to Khan Shadi Beg; bringing gifts, he rendered him much honor and announced to him the passing of his father, Oleg Ivanovich. The Khan honored him and granted him the land of his father and forefathers, the Grand Principality of Riazan', his own *ulus*, and let him depart. He returned from the Horde to his own land and ascended to the throne of his father and forefathers, the Grand Principality of Riazan'.

In the year 6911/1403. Sabbas, Bishop of Sarai, passed away. The same year Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich sent Prince Lugven to campaign against the city of Viazma. Lugven marched, took Viazma, captured Prince Ivan Sviatoslavich, as well as the other prince, Aleksandr Mikhailovich, and brought them both to Vitovt.

The same year Prince Andrei Dmitrievich in Moscow married Agrafena, daughter of Prince Aleksandr Patrikeevich [of Starodub].

The same year Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' laid the foundation of a fortress in Opoki near Tver', and the same year its construction was completed.

1403 The same fall on the tenth day of the month of October there appeared a portent in the sky. It happened at the second hour of the night and looked like an enormous fiery lance, appearing three times.

The same winter in the month of December Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, summoned to Moscow Lord Bishop Arsenius of Tver'. The same year in the land of Tver' a stone church was built in Gorodok, dedicated to St. Nicholas. Its construction was completed in one year by Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' and it was consecrated by Arsenius, Bishop of Tver'.

The same year Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' waged war against Kashin, against his brother, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin. Then, however, he returned and sent against Kashin his son, Prince Aleksandr, with all his forces. Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, however, escaped to Moscow and Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow arranged peace between them.

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich commanded that a fortress be erected in Pereiaslavl'.

The same year Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Gorodets passed away.[72]

The same year there was a portent on the sun. It seemed as if three suns had appeared, from which blue, green and crimson rays spread like an arch. The same year a portent appeared on the moon. In the evening when the moon rose a large cross appeared in the middle of the moon, where it remained half an hour.

The same year in Tver' a bell was cast for the cathedral church of the Holy Transfiguration of the Lord. It was made on order of Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver'. The same year, thanks to the mercy of God, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' and his brother, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, agreed on peace and confirmed peace by a pledge on the cross; and their enemies were put to shame. The same year Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' married his son, Ivan, to the daughter of Prince . . . [*Name missing.*], and the wedding was performed by Bishop Arsenius of Tver'.

The same year the people of Novgorod concluded peace with

72. Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Gorodets was the brother of Prince Semion Dmitrievich mentioned under the year 1402.

Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk. The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich sent Semion and Mikhail to Novgorod.[73] The same year a stone church dedicated to the great holy martyr Barbara was built in Novgorod the Great; and posadnik Kyril Andreevich of Novgorod built a church in Prussian Street dedicated to the Three Youths, and a chapel dedicated to Holy Archangel Michael.[74] Then he built a wooden church of the Holy Trinity in Vidogoshch, in the cenobitic monastery in Novgorod the Great.[75] During the same winter in Novgorod the Great people could ride on the ice across the Volkhov river beginning with St. Luke's Day up to the month of March. The same spring there was a drought and everywhere there was little water, and all the moats were dry. The same year in Novgorod the Great the church of the Most Pure Theotokos on Fox Mountain[76] was adorned with frescoes. The same year the merchants of Novgorod erected a stone church to the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb in the town of Rusa. 1404

[THE TAKING OF SMOLENSK BY VITOVT]

In the year 6912/1404. Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, grandson of Gedimin, together with the Olgerdoviches—with Koribut, with Lugven and with Svidrigailo—and with all the Lithuanian forces, waged war against Smolensk. At that time Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich of Tver' went over to Vitovt Keistutovich, finding him at Smolensk. Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk with the people prepared the city for siege and he fought bitterly. Vitovt remained there all spring, fought hard, bombarded the city with his artillery but could not continue longer. The city of Smolensk was too strong for him and so, after besieging it seven weeks, Vitovt retreated home, having achieved nothing at the city; but he laid waste the region around Smolensk.

The same year Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk

73. It is unclear who these two men were.

74. The Three Youths in the furnace: see Dan. 3:12–28.

75. Old Russian monasteries were of two types: cenobitic, in which monks lived in cells, had no private property and ate in a common refectory; and non-cenobitic, in which the monks lived either together or in hermitages, had private property and had to care for their own meals. Some of the first type were organized by princes.

76. *Lis'ia Gora,* perhaps also *Lysaia Gora*—Bald Mountain.

1404 went from Smolensk to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. Receiving safe conduct from him and leaving his Princess and his boyars in Smolensk, he went with a few men to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, asking him for succour and protection against the latter's father-in-law, Prince Vitovt. He said the following: "You, my lord, have a great opportunity to do this because he is your father-in-law and you are his son-in-law, and there is concord between you. Arrange peace and concord between us and Vitovt so that he not harm me. In the case he eschews my tears and your friendly counsel to him, aid me, poor man; do not let me be swallowed by him, and Lord God will bless you in this age and in the future one. If you do not want to do thuswise, then take the city [of Smolensk] for yourself so that at least you will rule there and not the pagan Lithuanians."[77] Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, aware of the cruel disposition of Vitovt, did not intercede on behalf of Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk because he, himself, was at peace with his father-in-law, Vitovt, and had a covenant with him confirmed by a pledge on the cross.

While Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk was still in Moscow, some of his boyars of Smolensk entered into a treacherous conspiracy and sent secretly to Vitovt, saying, "Come rapidly to Smolensk because everyone here wants you and loves you, and we will open and surrender the city to you. Hurry hither before Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk returns from Moscow with large forces of your son-in-law, Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow. He—Iurii—journeyed to him seeking succour and we have witting that not only has he received Muscovite forces but also has received large hosts from other principalities and is prepared to march against you. You should know what then will befall you; therefore hasten to us forthwith and we will open the city because all of us want you and would fain have you rule over the Grand Principality of Lithuania and over all of us."

Hearing this, Vitovt rejoiced, mustered a strong host and marched to Smolensk. The treacherous boyars of Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk opened the gates of the city of Smolensk to him. He, Vitovt, entered the city, arrested the wife of

77. Although officially the ethnic Lithuanians—the Zhmud', not the Russian population of the Lithuanian Grand Principality—became Catholic in the late fourteenth century, part of them remained *de facto* pagans.

Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich, the daughter of Prince Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', as well as the princes and boyars of Smolensk, and sent them to Lithuania. Some others who were loath to have him he rendered unto capital punishment. He appointed his Polish namestniks in Smolensk, commanding them to keep the city according to his orders: he told them to grant many privileges to the people of Smolensk in order to turn them away from Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk, so that the entire land of Smolensk be willing to have and love Vitovt and not Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk. He dispatched people to seek out Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk because he wanted to destroy him and his children. **1404**

When Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk learned that his city, as well as his entire grand principality, had been taken by Vitovt, that his wife-Princess had been taken into captivity in Lithuania, that those princes and boyars who loved him were also sent into exile in Lithuania as captives, that some others had been imprisoned and yet others executed, he was sorely grieved at heart. Then he, his son, Theodore, Prince Semion Mstislavovich Viazemskii, and his brother, Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavovich, went from Moscow to Novgorod. The Novgorodians received him very honorably and gave over to him thirteen cities: Rusa, Ladoga, Oreshek, Tiverskii, Karelskii, Kopor'e, Torzhok, Volok-Lamskii, Porkhov, Vyshgorod, Iama, Vysokaia, Koshkin and Gorodets. Grand Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich pledged on the cross to the entire city of Novgorod that he would be with them in life and in death, and in the case some enemies should do battle against Novgorod, Prince Iurii would fight against those together with the Novgorodians. The Novgorodian posadnik Aleksei Fomich and tysiatskii Kiril Dmitriev also confirmed the covenant with a pledge on the cross on behalf of all Novgorod the Great to Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich.

The same year in Golenishchevo His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, consecrated Timothey, former abbot of the monastery of Borisoglebsk, bishop of Sarai.

The same year a clock was erected on the estate of the Grand Prince of Moscow, behind the church of the Annunciation in Moscow. This clock was made by the Serbian monk Lazar, who recently came from Serbia.

The same year Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich of Tver' returned to Tver' from Lithuania, from Vitovt Keistutovich.

1404 [ARCHBISHOP JOHN RETURNS TO NOVGOROD]

The same year Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, permitted lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, to return to Novgorod from Moscow. The latter had been detained in Moscow by Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and all Russia for three years and six months. He abode there in the suburb in the monastery of St. Nicholas the Old, where he became very quiet, meek and humble; therefore Lord God pardoned and delivered him from those trials. He came to Novgorod, where he was met in the vicinity of the church of St. Nicholas on the estate of Iaroslav by the entire city and by the whole episcopal Sacred Council with crosses. Everyone was very joyful and happy and the same day there were great celebrations throughout the day. People told him, "Your Holiness! Our lord and Archbishop of God! You were detained in Moscow by Metropolitan Cyprian and you abode there patiently and thanking God; but we here have been in great sadness and sorrow and we prayed for you day and night. It was Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos Who granted you to us, so that we might forget grief and all our tribulations. Do not forget us in your prayers to God and then we will receive God's blessings, mercy and the remission of sins, thanks to your prayers in the present and future time." And so they greatly rejoiced to have their lord Archbishop back.

[CYPRIAN GOES TO LITHUANIA]

The same year on the twentieth day of the month of July His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, went to Lithuania to Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, and also to the city of Kiev. Vitovt Keistutovich honored him and gave him many presents. Metropolitan Cyprian sojourned there for some time, being held in great honor by Vitovt, by all the princes, all the lords and by the entire land. From thence he journeyed to Kiev. He arrested and sent to Moscow Archimandrite Timothey, his representative there, as well as his own stewards who had been commanded by him to deal with divers problems in Kiev and to preserve and manage his possessions. He left as his new representative in Kiev a certain Theodore, Archimandrite of the monastery of St. Saviour, and selected his own stewards, whom he commanded to remain in Kiev and work with his representative, the Archimandrite.

1405 The same year in Novgorod the Great there was a conflagration and the Liudin section and Prussian street burned as far as the church of St. Michael; and in the fortress everything burned, as far as the Archbishop's estate. Altogether, five wooden churches burned, while five stone churches were damaged by the fire. The same year the Novgorodian posadnik Vasilii Ivanovich passed away.

The same year Archbishop Arsenius of Tver' laid the foundation on the river Tmaka of a stone church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos.

In the September year 6913/1405. The Tatars raided Riazan' but Grand Prince Fedor Olgovich, grandson of Ivan, sent troops after them. They moved rapidly, defeated the Tatars, took back whatever had been captured by them, seized many Tatars and returned to Riazan', where there was great gladness.

The same year on the thirteenth day of the month of September, at noon, there was a conflagration in Tver' and a hundred homesteads beyond the Tmaka river burned, as well as the church of St. John the Precursor. The same year Grand Princess Maria, wife of Ivan Mikhailovich, passed away in Tver' after accepting monastic orders and receiving the monastic name of Martha. This happened on the thirtieth day of the month of October, and she was buried in the [cathedral] church of the Holy Saviour inside the city of Tver'.

The same winter venerable Archimandrite Euthemius of Suzdal' passed away.

The same winter on the thirteenth day of the month of February Gregory, Bishop of Kolomna, passed away.

The same year, in Vladimir of Volynia, Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, consecrated priest Gogol' to be bishop of the Volynian land.

The same fall on the first day of the month of October a stone church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos in Simanovo was consecrated. Its foundation was laid by Archimandrite Theodore and its construction was completed by Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [of Moscow]. It was consecrated twenty-nine years after its original foundation was laid.

The same winter Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin and his boyars came to Tver'; but they were all caught by his brother, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver'.

The same winter Prince Iurii Vsevolodich escaped from the

1405 Tver' land and went to Moscow, to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich; and he informed Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' that he had forsaken his pledge on the cross. He feared that Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich would render unto him the same as he had done unto his kin, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich.

It was a naked winter without snow. During Shrovetide week there was a thaw, and during Lent there was a flood: the water came and spring arrived, and the people marveled because this happens very rarely. Many were even unaware of it and did not know when [the seasons] had changed or in what year it might happen.

In the month of April of the same year on Great Friday of Holy Week, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' and his brother, Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, agreed to peace and confirmed it by pledging on the cross. During Easter week, on Tuesday, the Grand Prince let his brother, Vasilii, go with love to Kashin. The same year there were great thunder and terrifying lightning, and many people were killed by the thunder and burned by the lightning.

The same year in Tver' during Trinity week, on Tuesday at an evening hour, the church of St. John the Theologian burned, having been struck by lightning. The same year during St. Peter's fast Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich escaped from Kashin to Moscow, and Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' sent his namestniks to Kashin and they caused the Christians much harm by confiscating and sacking. There were peace and concord betwixt them for three months; but thereafter the enmity and discord between them grew greater than ever. For this reason Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich, who did not wish any misfortune to befall him, fled to Moscow. The same year after St. Peter's day Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich, grandson of Mikhail Aleksandrovich, went from Tver' to Kashin [to be prince there.] He was the son of Ivan Mikhailovich, Grand Prince [of Tver'].

[VITOVT AND CYPRIAN]

The same year Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Suzdal' passed away.[78]

The same year Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania

78. Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Suzdal' became prince of Suzdal' in 1402 after his brother, Prince Semion Dmitrievich, was arrested by Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow. See the entry under 1402.

went to the Polish King Iakov, also called Iagailo;[79] and Iagailo 1405
came to meet them. They met in the city of Miliubno. His Holiness Metropolitan Cyprian was also present. He sojourned there with them, being greatly honored and receiving gifts; and so also fared his boyars and his squires, whereupon they parted.

The same year, however, some calumniators told Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania some calumny about Anthony, Bishop of Turov, and Vitovt began to dislike him. These calumniators found a propitious time and raised their voices still more, calumniating and instigating great enmity and discord [between Anthony and Vitovt]. Thereupon Vitovt Keistutovich complained to Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, concerning Bishop Anthony and informed him of the calumny that had been told him. Vitovt also sent some letters to Cyprian which, as these calumniators claimed, Bishop Anthony had written to Shadi Beg, Khan of the Horde, and in which he suggested to the Khan to raid, capture and burn the land of Volynia, Kiev and several other cities. Those calumniators forged those letters. Metropolitan Cyprian kept Bishop Anthony with him, but there was still more calumny and Vitovt waxed sorely wroth, while Bishop Anthony was in great grief and sadness. [To placate Vitovt] Metropolitan Cyprian removed his episcopal rank from Anthony and sent him to Moscow, enjoining him to live there in a cell in St. Simeon monastery. He also charged everyone to show him peace and offend him in nowise, but not to let him leave the monastery.[80]

79. "Polish King Iakov:" probably an error and should read "Iagailo." When Iagailo became king of Poland he was baptized and received the name, "Wladislaw III Iagailo."

80. Cyprian was consecrated Metropolitan in 1375; he definitely established himself in Moscow in 1390, and died in 1406. He was Metropolitan of the churches of both eastern (Muscovite) and western (Lithuanian) Russia. Since he resided primarily in Moscow and often supported Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, refusing to reside in Lithuania, Vitovt wanted either to have Cyprian permanently in Lithuania, thus dominating the Russian church, or to break with Cyprian and have his own Metropolitan. His attack on Anthony was the first step toward undermining Cyprian's and Moscow's influence over the west Russian land and Orthodoxy (subsequently under Lithuania). Vitovt seized a number of west Russian territories—including Smolensk—and spread his influence even to Novgorod and Riazan', thus preparing the political encirclement of Moscow and the submission of the Russian land to himself. In the meantime, he strove to eliminate Cyprian, and thus Muscovite influence, in those Russian territories—entire Belorussia, Volynia, the land of Kiev, etc.—which had

(continued)

1406 *In the year 6914/1406.* In the month of September Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich [of Tver'] journeyed to Kashin. The same fall Princess Avdotia, the dowager of Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver', passed away on the first day of the month of November. The same fall, with Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' present, Bishop Arsenius consecrated the church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos on the river Tmaka at the site of Zheltykovo.

The same winter on the fifth day of the month of December, Saturday, Grand Princess Evpraksiia, dowager of Oleg Ivanovich of Riazan', passed away.

The same winter on the first day of the month of January Metropolitan Cyprian returned from Kiev to Moscow, having sojourned [in western Russia and Kiev] for one year and eleven months. The same winter a miracle occurred in Moscow in the house of Tiutrum: myrrh flowed from the icons of the Most Pure Theotokos and Wonderworker Nicholas.

The same winter, despite the covenant of peace, Vitovt marched stealthily against the Pskovian city of Kolozha, which he took, and he sent a covenant with the Pskovian pledge on the cross to Novgorod. He besieged Voronoch two days, campaigning in its land and towns, capturing many people and much wealth; the others he slew, then marched back home. The same year the people of Pskov with those of Novgorod went to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich to complain concerning his father-in-law, Vitovt. The Grand Prince sent his brother, Prince Petr Dmitrievich, to succour the people of Pskov.

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow and Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' forsook their pledge on the cross given to Vitovt. The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, having assembled large forces with many voevodas, sent his hosts to campaign in the Lithuanian land around the cities of Viazma and Serpeisk, but they succedded in nowise.[81]

The same year Prince Aleksandr Neliub , son of Prince Ivan

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already been incorporated into his Grand Principality of Lithuania, which consisted, *de facto,* of western and southern Russian lands. The ethnic Lithuanians at that time were almost entirely under the Teutonian—German—Order.

81. Viazma is located about half-way between Moscow and Smolensk. Serpeisk can not be identified.

Olgimantov, left Lithuania and came to the Grand Prince [of Mos- 1406
cow] to serve him. Together with him there were many Lithuanians and Poles. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich accepted him gladly and granted him the city of Pereiaslavl'.

The same year Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin[82] left Pereiaslavl' and went to Tver' after having contacted his brother, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', and they confirmed peace between them, pledging on the holy cross that they would abide in peace and concord and stand by each other. The same year the church of Holy Archangel Michael in Gorodok [in the land of Tver'] was painted with frescoes.

The same year during St. Peter's fast on Tuesday the moon disappeared before early dawn and it set without having reappeared.

The same year during St. Peter's fast on the sixteenth day of the month of June, Wednesday, there was a portent in the skies in the fourth hour. The sun disappeared and only a small piece of it remained, as a three-day-old moon. It was very black and dark. After sometime, however, the light returned. The same day the Lithuanians killed and slaughtered the people from Moscow in their land.

PORTENT. The same summer during St. Peter's day in the land of Nizhnii Novgorod there were vast storms and fearful tornadoes. At that time and at that hour a man went into a field and mounted a horse harnessed to a cart; but a very powerful tornado struck and carried off this man, together with the horse and the cart. The storm bore him aloft, so tossing him about in the fearsome tornado that he finally disappeared from sight. The next day people found his cart hanging by the wheels and the whole harness on a high tree. It was on the far side of the river Volga, and the dead horse lay next to it on the ground. There was no word of the man, however, and he was not found anywhere. During the same summer there were great thunderstorms and awful lightning.

The same summer on the twenty-sixth day of the month of August in Golenishchevo His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, elevated Archimandrite Hilarion of St. Simeon Monastery to Bishop of Kolomna. The same year Mitrophanes was

82. Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin had earlier been granted the city of Pereiaslavl' by Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow.

1407 consecrated Bishop of Suzdal' by Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, [also] in Golenishchevo. At that time Metropolitan Cyprian was already ill.

In the year 6915/1407. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow mustered many troops and marched against Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania. Reaching the Plakha river, he camped there. Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' sent succour to Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, to wit: troops under his brothers, Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, Prince Fedor Mikhailovich, his son, Prince Ivan, and Prince Ivan Eremeevich; and with them were his boyars and his voevodas; and their host was very large. From the Horde a Tatar host also came from Khan Shadi Beg to aid [Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich] against Vitovt. Vitovt, too, gathered his strong forces, as well as the Poles and the Zhmud',[83] and he marched forward with this considerable host. Arriving, he camped at Pashkov barrage. After several days there they began to negotiate and agreed on an armistice the same year; thereupon they departed in divers directions.

[THE PASSING AND TESTAMENT OF METROPOLITAN CYPRIAN]

The same year[84] on the sixteenth day of the month of September His Holiness Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, passed away after having been Metropolitan for thirty years less two and a half months.[85] When witting of his death spread, the bishops, priests and monks assembled and enveloped His Holiness' body according to the canons given by the Holy Fathers. Forthwith there gathered the princes, boyars, voevodas and a great many other people. They bore him to the city of Moscow, to the Metropolitan cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos[86] where were the graves of the great wonderworker Metropolitan Peter, and of blessed Metropolitan Theognost. The sacred and divine council, includ-

83. Zhmud': ethnic Lithuanians, not Russians, in northern Lithuania.

84. In the year 6914 according to *Novg.*, *Sof.* and *Mosc. Late XV.*

85. Cyprian was consecrated Metropolitan in 1375 but spent most of his time till 1390 in the Lithuanian part of the Russian church. Only in 1390 did he establish himself as head of both the Muscovite and Lithuanian parts of the Russian church and make Moscow his permanent residence.

86. Metropolitan cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos: Uspenskii Sobor—Cathedral of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, where all Russian metropolitans and later patriarchs were buried.

ing Gregory, Archbishop of Rostov; Metrophanes, Bishop of Suz- **1407**
dal'; and Hilarion, Bishop of Kolomna, together with their archimandrites, abbots and the entire Sacred Council, served and intoned the funeral service and chants, and buried him in the Metropolitan cathedral church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos in Moscow, on the right side near the wall, as they had been instructed by him.

The first Metropolitan buried in Moscow in this cathedral church was Peter the wonderworker, and he was buried there according to his own instructions. The second, Theognost the Greek, likewise was buried by his own order in the same church. The third, Alexis the wonderworker, was buried according to his instructions inside the city of Moscow in the monastery of the Miracles of Archangel Michael[87] which was founded by him. This Metropolitan Cyprian was the fourth and he was Serbian by birth.[88]

He was filled with all manner of wisdom and reason, and was very erudite and spiritual. He lived a most pious and worthy life. Everyone enjoyed his teachings and his instructions. He endeavored greatly, considering it his foremost duty to teach everyone the word of God unceasingly, not to utter foolishness or vain words, not to fill the ears of men with laughable speech. Thanks to his pious life he lived to an advanced age, and fell ill in Golenishchevo, a residence of the Metropolitan.[89] He abode there untroubled and quietly. A separate church was built for him there, consecrated in the names of the Three Holy Hierarchs.[90] And he, himself, loved to sojourn there and reside there because it was a tranquil, quiet place without speech, silent, and free from all disturbing noises. It was situated between two rivers—the Setun' and the Ramenka, at their confluence, above a large pond, and a large forest surrounded it. Met-

87. The so-called Chudov monastery.

88. Apparently Cyprian was Bulgarian, not Serbian. In his eulogy of Cyprian, Gregory Tsamblak mentions that Cyprian was his uncle, and gives Bulgaria as the country of the origin of them both. Kartashov, Vol. I, p. 321. It is quite possible that Cyprian did spend at least part of his life in Serbia, as did many other Bulgarians after the Turkish conquest of their realm. In any case, Cyprian was a Helenized Balkan Slav.

89. Golenishchevo: a small settlement near Moscow, Cyprian's preferred residence.

90. Three Holy Hierarchs: St. Gregory the Great, St. Basil the Theologian and St. John Chrysostom, the most venerated and influential Church Fathers of the fifth century.

1407 ropolitan Cyprian loved to stay there frequently, to write books with his own hand, consecrate bishops there, exercise prayer and read divine Scripture, as well as to ponder death and the Last Judgment and those endless torments. There he fell ill, remaining bedridden several days before expiring.

[METROPOLITAN CYPRIAN'S TESTAMENT]

Four days before his demise he wrote a wonderful farewell charter granting forgiveness and his blessing to all and asking forgiveness and blessing for himself because he was a man of veritable wisdom and humility. Therefore, departing from this world, he instructed the bishops and those about him, "When you lay me in the casket, read this charter over my body loudly to all." And so it was done, according to his will, by reverend Gregory, Archbishop of Rostov, who read the charter loudly to all the people. As he read it, many of those present shed tears, and there was great weeping and wailing amongst all. In this charter was written the following:[91]

"In the Name of the Holy and Lifegiving Trinity, I, sinful and humble Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, look to what will happen in my old age because I was often plagued by sundry diseases from which I still suffer now. Manloving God punishes me because of my sins, increasing my afflictions now, which never or in any way announced to me anything other than death and the forthcoming awesome judgment of the Saviour. Therefore I found I must write in my Testament some words which I express at this writing.

"First of all, I confess the holy God-given apostolic faith in the Holy Trinity, the real Orthodox piety, the holy apostolic teachings and the entirety of the unchangeable divine traditions of the church which are preserved by God's grace. All this is my confession of faith which I transmit further: since the beginning the bishop has been consecrated according to the traditions and canons of the Apostles and Holy Fathers, as well as according to divine and holy commandment. In the same way as the Apostles were designated by God, the bishops were designated by the Apostles, and therefore they are the heirs of the Apostles. These bishops consecrated other bishops according to God-given apostolic statute. And thus did I,

91. This text of Cyprian's last will follows nearly exactly the same found in *Musc. late XV C. Chronicle (PSRL,* Vol. XXV, pp. 234–236).

myself, a sinner, receive the grace of the Holy Spirit according to **1407**
the statutes of the Holy Apostles and the sacred canons. [I received it] from His Holiness, the Oecumenical Bishop Patriarch, during the rule of the most Orthodox Emperor of Constantinople. And those who have lived their lives after my consecration and to those who are still alive, I bequeath them all my sincere forgiveness for the sake of the Holy Spirit.

"I also bestow my customary love, my last and final embrace and forgiveness upon those, Their Holinesses the Oecumenical Patriarchs, who have passed away and those who are still alive, as well as on Their Holinesses, the Metropolitans, upon all of them who have passed away and who are still alive. I also expect to receive the same from them.

"I bestow my wishes of peace, my blessings and my last embrace upon the noble, Christ-loving Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of all Russia, who is my beloved son in the Holy Spirit. And I also bestow the same upon his mother, his brothers, his wife-Princess, his children, and upon the princesses, as well as upon the children of his brothers.

"I also bestow the wishes for peace, a blessing and a last embrace upon all the Russian Grand Princes, as well as their wives-princesses and their children; also, upon all local princes with their princesses and their children.

"I bestow my love, blessing and forgiveness upon all God-loving bishops who reside within the limits of our Church of the Russian Metropolia; upon those who have passed away and those who are still alive I bestow my blessing, my forgiveness and my love, and I ask them to do the same for me. On all priest-monks and all priests who serve at the throne of God I bestow my forgiveness, my blessing and my love.

"Upon all pious princes, the small and the great, and on all others [princes] who have passed away during our years I likewise bestow my forgiveness and blessing, and pray to God that He forgive their trespasses which they committed as men. On the boyars, both the great and the small, together with their wives and children, and upon the entire Christian people, I bestow my wishes of peace and my blessing. On all monks dwelling in divers places and on the entire clergy of this Church I bestow peace and my blessing.

"Upon whomsoever I have placed an interdiction or whomsoever I have neglected—even those who have committed impious

1407 sin and who have not sought its remission and in such unforgiveness have passed away—as well as those whom I have instructed but who did not obey: to all these I give absolution in the Holy Spirit, my forgiveness and my blessing, and I pray to the Man-loving God for the remission of their sins.

"I have counted the years since I was consecrated Metropolitan and I have ascertained that on the second day of the month of December it would be thirty years [since I became Metropolitan]. In all these past years whosoever murmured against me or openly opposed me, be it a bishop, monk or priest, as well as those laymen who opposed me together with them and were inspired by them but came to me, confessed and received forgiveness and absolution—they should be blessed from that very hour and I ask God not to count their deeds as sin but to remit them. And whosoever was ashamed to come to me or forgot me or neglected me and feared me because of their poor mind, or who became angry at me because of inimical slander, whosoever it may be—priest, monk, layman, man, woman—they are all forgiven and blessed. It should not be considered as their sin because it is my concern and my problem and it is my power to absolve them.

"And those who loved us and who helped us for the sake of God in our troubles, in our difficult journeys and travel in sundry lands—whosoever they be: ecclesiastically important, lords, boyars, men or women—to all those I remit their sins and give them my blessing and pray for the mercy of the Man-loving God, and I ask God to render unto them according to their hearts.

"And the care for my soul, as well as for the house of the Most Holy Theotokos, I bequeath, with the blessing of the Holy Spirit, to the charge of my beloved son, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of all Russia. For his care he will receive recompense from Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos. And may the peace and grace and forgiveness of Our Lord God Jesus Christ be with us all, as well as my blessing.

"This charter is written in [the monastery of] the Three Hierarchs on the twelfth day of the month of September, in the Fifteenth Indiktion. I could not sign it because of my illness."

And then, what follows was written for theological purpose.[92]

92. This second, theological, part of the charter is not found in *Musc. late XV C.* It was probably added during the compilation of *Nik.* by one of its compilers and editors, quite possibly, Metropolitan Daniel.

"Let us bewail those multitudes of people who have all come **1407**
to this earth, in order to enrich themselves in an evil way.

"Oh! And how can it happen that a most noble creature of God, created after His Image, is now beheld without breath and is dead; and, Oh, becomes so disgusting, full of unclean worms, releasing a stench and putrefaction?

"How is it possible that such wisdom disappears, that the Word departs? And existence disappears. How is it possible all these three elements become invisible? That the fourth element perishes? And that the fifth remains without breath—dead!

"We become dissolved in the earth; the earth covers us, and then the resurrected will emerge from the earth? The child is born, crying and naked; and naked he abandons us! Why are we to labor and feel ashamed of our nakedness if we are aware of our end in life?

"One wonders how all of us move from darkness to the light, and from the light to darkness! We come crying from the womb of our mother, and, weeping, we abandon this sad world for the grave! Crying at the beginning and at the end! What is the need of all these events between [birth and death]: sleep, shadow, hopes, the beauty of life?

"Alas, alas, the passions highly complicate life. Everything disappears, in the same way as the light, as ashes, as a shadow!"

After the passing of this Metropolitan, all other Russian Metropolitans, up to the present days, write the same charter,[93] command that it be done before their passing, that this charter be placed in their graves and read so that all may hear.

[PSKOV'S WAR WITH THE GERMANS]

The same fall the peace between the people of Pskov and the Germans was broken and they started fighting betwixt them. The people of Pskov amassed great forces and marched to campaign in the German land. They were met by a German host on the river Seritsa and on the ninth day of the month of October a battle ensued and God aided the men of Pskov. They defeated the evil, impure Germans and pursued them through the entire German land up to twenty versts from Novgorod, slaughtering them and taking them prisoner, many with their own hands. From thence the men of Pskov marched toward Kiripeg[94] with the intention of

93. That is, apparently, the same as the first part of the charter.
94. Kiripeg: the name and location are unclear.

1407 marching to Iuriev of the Germans.[95] But they were met by Akort, Grand Master of Riga and all the forces of the German seashore. A fierce battle ensued on Selilov field. God helped the men of Pskov over the Germans, and the Grand Master escaped with only a small guard; the men of Pskov chased them as far as Kiripeg, slaying them. And so the men of Pskov returned home after a great victory, with large booty and wealth, and bringing many Germans with them. And there was great gladness in Pskov.

The same fall on the fourteenth day of the month of November Prince Rodoslav of Riazan', son of Oleg of Riazan', grandson of Ivan, passed away.

The same fall Prince Dmitrii Eremeevich passed away in Tver'. The same fall his mother, Princess Nastasia, dowager of Eremei, passed away in Tver'.

The same winter on the sixteenth day of the month of January Prince Peter, son of Dmitrii [brother of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich] married in Moscow the daughter of Poliekt Vasilievich.

The same winter in January Khan Shadi Beg slew Khan Tokhtamysh in the Siberian land.

[MURDER OF PRINCE VIAZEMSKII AND HIS WIFE]

The same winter during St. Philip's fast Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk left Novgorod to be Moscow's namestnik in Torzhok. He was given this office by Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. There he slew Prince Semion Mstislavovich Viazemskii, who was in his service and who was in no wise guilty. He also killed his Princess Uliana. He developed carnal desire for Viazemskii's wife and took her to his place, desiring to live with her; but she did not want this and told him,"Oh, Prince! What do you intend? How can I give up my husband, who is living, and go to you?" But he wanted to lie with her and she resisted him and took a knife and struck him in his thews. He waxed greatly wroth and soon thereafter killed her husband, Prince Semion Mstislavovich Viazemskii, who had served him and spilled his blood for him and he was not in the least guilty for having told his wife to behave thus [to defend her honor]. And after killing him he ordered that his wife's hands and feet be cut off and that she be cast into the water. They [his servants] did what was commanded and threw her into the water. And it was his sin and his great dishonor and, therefore,

95. Iruiev: now Tartu or Dorpat, a city in the northeastern part of Estonia. It was fortified and expanded in 1030 by Iaroslav the Wise.

he escaped to the Horde, being unable to abide his misbehavior, **1407**
shame and dishonor.[96]

The same winter the men of Pskov waged war against Polotsk. They campaigned in its region and returned home.

The same winter the men of Novgorod accepted Prince Danilo and his brother, Prince Iurii, and gave them the city of Porkhov.

The same winter the Germans defeated the men of Pskov. The same winter the men of Pskov went to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, seeking his help against the Germans. He sent them his brother, Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich, who remained in Pskov nearly the entire year.

The same winter in March Euphrosinius, the former bishop of Suzdal', passed away.

The same spring Grand Princess Evdokiia, dowager of Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi, laid in Moscow the foundation of a stone church of the Holy Ascension, and it was in the very fortress of Moscow.

The same spring on the twentieth day of the month of May the Lithuanians took the town of Odoev and burned it.

The same year during St. Peter's fast in Tver' the foundation was laid for a belfry in the vicinity of the old one, by Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver'. The same year during St. Peter's fast Prince Iurii Vsevolodovich of Tver' journeyed from Moscow to the Horde seeking the bestowal of the Grand Principality of Tver' [for himself] in place of Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver'.

The same year there was a portent in Pokhra. Blood ran from the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same year on the seventh day of the month of June Grand Princess Evdokiia, dowager of Dmitrii Ivanovich Donskoi, passed away after being tonsured to monastic orders and receiving the monastic name of Euphrosiniia. She was buried in the church of the Lord's Ascension of the monastery whose foundation she, herself, laid.

The same year Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich marched with the men of Pskov to wage war against the Germans. He campaigned at length in the German land, put many people to the sword, captured others and took the German city named Iavizna.

96. The themes of this short story—passion, love and jealousy—are quite unusual in medieval Russian literature. Another story, but of serene and faithful love, is *The Tale of Peter and Fevronia of Murom*. See S. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales*, 2nd ed., p. 290.

1407 The same year Theognost, Bishop of Riazan', passed away in Riazan'.

[DISSENSION IN TVER']

The same year on the twentieth day of the month of July Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' went in boats on the Volga to Khan Shadi Beg. At that time there was a great tumult in the Horde and before he arrived there Khan Shadi Beg was ousted, Bulat Sultan became ruler and many lords of the Horde were slain. A trial was held before the new Khan Bulat Sultan, between him and Prince Iurii Vsevolodovich of Tver', concerning the Grand Principality of Tver'. Khan Bulat Sultan made a judgment and all the lords of the Horde justified Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', and Khan Bulat Sultan let him go from the Horde with great honor, while Prince Iurii Vsevolodovich remained in the Horde.

The same year they completed painting frescoes in the church of the Holy Archangel Michael in Gorodok in the land of Tver'. The same year Arsenius, Lord Bishop of Tver', added a chapel to the church of the Most Pure Theotokos which is in Zheltikovo on the river Tmaka.

The same year on the twenty-fifth day of the month of May, during early dawn, the moon disappeared in the sky and so it set.

The same year there were many clouds and much rain and everywhere it was flooded. The same year a winged worm[97] came from the east to the west and ate the trees, and they withered.

The same year on the sixth day of the month of August Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow mustered a large host and campaigned against the Lithuanian land, against Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania; he took the city of Dmitrovets and burned it. And he was met by Vitovt, also with large forces, the latter being camped at Viazma. They agreed on an armistice and both withdrew.

The same year in the month of August there was a great tumult and disturbance in Lithuania, and a great famine in all the Lithuanian land.

The same year on the sixteenth day of August the Germans came to campaign in Pskov. They crossed the river Velikaia but

97. Apparently, the locust.

thereafter they withdrew somewhat from the city. The men of **1407**
Pskov, though, were unhappy about this: they issued forth from the city and fought the Germans, but the Germans overcame the men of Pskov and killed eight hundred and nine men of Pskov, as well as three posadniks: Efrem Kortochei, Elenti [Leontii] Gubka and Pankratii.

The same year in the month of August in Verenda near Vidogoshch, Lord Archbishop John of Novgorod completed building a stone church of the Transfiguration of the Lord and established a monastery there.

The same year in the month of August the men of Novgorod completed construction of a stone church of St. Blaise [Vlas] in Volosov street.[98]

In the same month of August in Arkazh monastery[99] posadnik Iurii Dmitrievich and his brother, Iakov, completed building a stone church dedicated to the Holy Miracle of Archangel Michael.

The same year in August the Narva section of the city [of Novgorod] burned up to the fortress, and the Archbishop's estate also burned, [as well as] the holy church of Holy Sophia, the Vladimir shore, Ludogoshch street and Khrevkova street. Altogether, twelve holy stone churches burned, and six wooden churches.

In the year 6916/1408. September 6. Prince Ivan Vladimirovich of Pronsk returned to Russia from the Horde, from Khan Bulat Sultan, with the *iarlyk* [of the principality of Pronsk] and with honors, and ascended to the throne of Pronsk. He was accompanied by an envoy of the Khan.

The same year in September the Tatars of Bulat Sultan, Khan of the Great Horde, campaigned against Lithuania.

[THE PASSING OF IURII OF SMOLENSK]

The same fall on September fourteenth Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk[100] passed away. He was the grandson of Ivan, gr. grandson of Aleksandr, gr. gr. grandson of Gleb, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, gr. gr.

98. In the Liudin section in *Novg.*
99. St. Arcadius monastery.
100. Prince Iurii Sviatoslavich of Smolensk lost Smolensk and then killed in Torzhok Prince Viazemskii and the latter's wife; see the entry under the year 1407.

1408 gr. gr. gr grandson of Davyd, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Rostislav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Mstislav, who was the son of Vladimir Monomakh. He died on the day of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, not in his hereditary Grand Principality of Smolensk, the land of his fathers and forefathers, but in a foreign land, wandering and roaming in exile, straying from place to place in the wilderness, having been deprived of the land of his fathers and forefathers. He abode away from his wife, the Grand Princess, from his children, his kin, his relatives, his princes and boyars, voevodas and squires, remaining alone living in the land of Riazan' in the hermitage of a certain Christ-loving elder, Abbot Peter. He sojourned there several days, sad and grieved, moaning and weeping, recalling his misfortunes and tribulations. He gave up this vain, seductive, meaningless, poor and passing glory, turning away his mind from it and endeavoring to please God with a good way of life. There he fell ill and, after a short illness, he passed to the Lord. His funeral was very reverent and he was buried with the funeral chants. In this manner the line of the grand princes of Smolensk died out and the grand principality of Smolensk remained without its grand princes; and Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, took over the rule of Smolensk. After him, the grand princes of Lithuania appointed their namestniks and ruled there.

The same fall on the third day of the month of October the Germans waged war against the land of Novgorod. After campaigning there, they returned to their own places. The same winter in December Grand Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich came to Novgorod as namestnik of his brother, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [of Moscow].

[GRAND PRINCE IVAN MIKHAILOVICH RETURNS TO TVER']

The same winter on the twenty-fifth day of the month of January Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' returned from the Horde, from Khan Bulat Sultan, to Tver', and the Khan's envoy was with him. The Grand Prince was met with great honor by [a procession with] crosses, and all the burghers went to meet him with great gladness. The same winter there were heavy cold and snows, as well as wind and severe snowstorms.[1] And the road from

1. *Vialitsy.*

the Horde was full of obstacles and hardships. The same winter 1408
Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' married, taking to wife the daughter of Prince Dmitrii Eremeevich.

The same winter Prince Iaroslav, grandson of Vladimir, great grandson of Andrei, gr. gr. grandson of Ivan [Kalita], gr. gr. gr. grandson of Danilo of Moscow, married.

The same winter on the ninth day of the month of March Hilarion, Bishop of Kolomna, passed away.

The same winter on the eleventh day of March a certain man was cured at the grave of St. Peter the Wonderworker[2] in the great Metropolitan cathedral church of Moscow [of the Dormition of the Holy Virgin]. He had been gravely ill from his disease and he went home quite healthy.

The same winter the Germans waged war in the land of Pskov and they camped at length near the fortress of Pskov. The men of Pskov were sorely awearied because it was a very large force of Germans which came against them.

The same spring in the month of May, by command of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, they started painting frescoes in the great cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos of Vladimir, and the master painters were the icon painters, Danilo and Andrei Rubl'.[3]

[FEUD IN THE LAND OF RIAZAN']

The same year Prince Ivan Vladimirovich of Pronsk, who stealthily came from the Tatars, chased from Riazan' Grand Prince Fedor Olgovich of Riazan', grandson of Ivan. The latter escaped beyond the river Oka, while Grand Prince Ivan Vladimirovich of Pronsk became ruler of both the principalities of Riazan' and of Pronsk. A short time thereafter Grand Prince Fedor Olgovich, grandson of Ivan, however, started fighting against him and on the first day of the month of June there was a fierce battle on the river Smiadva; God aided Prince Ivan Vladimirovich of Pronsk. Many fell on both sides and his victory was decisive. At that time

2. St. Peter the Wonderworker: that is, the late Metropolitan of Moscow.

3. Andrei Rubl': usually known as Andrei Rublev, the greatest medieval Russian icon and frescoe painter. Danilo Chernyi—the Black—also well known as a painter, worked mostly with Andrei Rublev.

1408 there were killed Ignatii Semionovich Zherebtsov, voevoda of Kolomna; Mikhail Lialin; Ivan Brynko; as well as many other men of Kolomna. Semion Zhiroslavich, voevoda of Murom, was captured and many men of Murom were slain. Christian blood was spilled in vain because each of them hated his kin, trespassed the limits [of his patrimony] and desired another's possessions, which he would appropriate. The same year the princes of Riazan'—Fedor Olgovich, grandson of Ivan, and Ivan Vladimirovich—made peace and concord between them, confirming it with a pledge on the cross. They asked, "Why do we vainly provide the devil with joy and in vain fight and spill Christian blood? We are of one and the same kin, brothers and kinsmen, and we should abide in peace and love as we once did. We will each abide in his own patrimony in concord and brotherly love. In no way will we interfere in the lands of our brothers or commence fighting and enmity; but we will fight the devil and our enemies, as well as the infidels." And so they remained ruling in their respective principalities[4] in peace and concord with each other and there was great gladness in the land of Riazan' because of the unity, concord and peace of these grand princes of the land of Riazan'.

[NOVGORODIANS INVITE A LITHUANIAN AS THEIR PRINCE]

The same year the people of Great Novgorod asked Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, to give them as prince Semion Lugven Olgerdovich, and he sent him to them. Thereupon the Novgorodians turned over to him those towns which used previously to be under his rule. The same year Lord Archbishop John of Novgorod covered the church of Holy Sophia with lead and he gilded the great cupola.

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [of Moscow] commanded to build a fortress in the city of Rzhev, and he appointed there as voevodas Prince Iurii of Kozel'sk and Iurii Vasilievich [the son of the Grand Prince].

[CONFLAGRATION IN ROSTOV]

The same year in the month of June there were great conflagrations in the city of Rostov and many churches burned. The cathedral church of the Most Pure Theotokos was so badly burnt out that

4. Fedor in Riazan', and Ivan in Pronsk.

the stone fell apart. In this church were very wonderful holy icons, many ancient books, golden and silver church vessels adorned with pearls and gems, vestments and all manner of precious and costly objects which burned. There also burned the estates of the prince and of the boyars and of many other people, and very many people burned there, more than one thousand people. It was very hot weather at that time and, besides that, there was a storm and a very strong tornado. Such great conflagrations did not occur in Rostov for two hundred years. 1408

[LITHUANIAN PRINCES DEFECT TO MOSCOW]

The same year on the twenty-sixth day of the month of July the Lithuanian Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich came from Briansk to Moscow to serve Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [of Moscow]; together with him came Isaak, Bishop of Briansk; Prince Patrikei of Zvenigorod; Prince Aleksandr of Zvenigorod; from Putivl', Prince Fedor Aleksandrovich; Prince Semion of Peremyshl'; Prince Mikhailo of Khotev; Prince Urusta of Minsk,[5] as well as boyars from Chernigov, Briansk, Liubech and Roslavl'.[6] Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich received him [Prince Svidrigailo] with great honor and gave him as an apanage the city of Vladimir with all its land, all its taxes, its towns, the harvested and unharvested fields[7] and, also, the city of Pereiaslavl' with all its possessions. And he further gave him Iur'iev Polskii with all its possessions, and Volok Lamskii with all its possessions, and Rzhev, and half of Kolomna.[8]

The same year in many regions there was a plague which

5. Mensk, in *Nik.*

6. This was one of the earliest mass defections of West Russians and some Orthodox Lithuanian princes from Lithuanian rule to that of Moscow. Under the pressure of Catholic Poland, Vitovt was making the existence of the Orthodox population—and, especially, the local princes—most precarious. In *Nik.* there are some spelling errors: Pronsk in place of Briansk; Liubeck, now Liubech in the Chernigov land; Iaroslavl' in place of Roslavl', a town in the Smolensk land. Peremyshl' is a town near Kaluga. The background of the Prince of Khotevsk, or Khotevovskii, is unclear. Corrections are made according to *Musc. Late XV C.*

7. "*Khleby zemlianymi i stoiashchimi.*"

8. All these cities are scattered west and east of Moscow. Pereiaslavl' and Iur'iev Polskii are cities in the land of Vladimir. The name, "Polskii," derives from *polé*, "field," because the city is surrounded by fields.

1409 caused spasms. It spread to the lands of Rzhev, Mozhaisk, Dmitriev, Zvenigorod, Pereiaslavl', Vladimir, Iur'iev, Riazan' and Tarusa, and also to some places of the region of Moscow.

The same year in the month of August there was severe drought and heavy freeze.

The same year in the month of August Tatar envoys from Khan Bulat Sultan of the Horde came to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow began to gather his troops and sent to the Tatar Khan asking for succour against Vitovt because he wanted to fight in the Lithuanian land and capture it.[9]

[METROPOLITAN PHOTIUS]

In the year 6917/1409. September 1. Photius was consecrated Metropolitan in Constantinople by *Kyr* Matthew, Patriarch of Constantinople, during the reign of Manuel, Emperor of Constantinople,[10] while in Russia there was the reign of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow.

[MOSCOW GOES AGAINST LITHUANIA]

The same fall on the first day of the month of September Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow assembled strong forces and marched against his father-in-law, Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania. He came and camped on the bank of the river Ugra. Vitovt also came to the other bank of the same river Ugra with great forces, and with him were Lithuanian troops[11]—Poles, Germans and Zhmud'.[12] They remained on the river Ugra for many days and then they agreed on peace as of old, and each returned home.

[TVER' AGAINST KASHIN]

The same fall in October Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of

9. He intended to retake the Russian lands taken by Vitovt.

10. In the fifteenth century the Russians stopped calling the emperor "*Grecheskii Tsar'*," which meant "Byzantine Emperor." They began calling him "*Tsar'gradskii Tsar*"—"Emperor of Constantinople", because the Byzantine Empire became reduced just to the city of Constantinople and its suburbs, and some lands in the Peleponnesus. Manuel II Paleologue reigned 1391–1425.

11. In this case, "Lithuanians" denotes western Russians.

12. Zhmud': ethnic Lithuanians.

Tver' campaigned against Kashin, against his nephew, Prince Ivan Borisovich, but the latter fled to Moscow and so Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' went to Kashin, made peace with his other brother, Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, captured his daughter-in-law[13] and brought her to Tver'. He assigned his own namestnik in Kashin and collected tribute. **1409**

[EDIGEI'S INVASION]

The same autumn in November a Tatar came to Moscow from the Horde, informing Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich that "Great Edigei, Amir of the Horde, intends to wage war against your land."[14]

The same autumn in the month of November the Germans waged war in the land of Pskov.

The same fall on the twentieth day of the month of December Edigei, Amir of the Horde, at the command of Bulat Sultan, Khan of the Great Horde, waged war against the Russian land. There were four sons of the Khan with him, and a great many Tatar lords. Their names were Buchak, the Khan's son; the Khan's son, Tegri-Berdi; the Khan's son, Altamir; the Khan's son, Bulat; great lord Amir Edigei; lord Mahmet; lord Iusuf, son of Suleimen'; lord Iakshili, son of Edigei; lord Tegin', son of Shikh; lord Sarai, son of Urusakh; lord Ibrahim, son of Temir-Az; lord Seit-Ialib; lord Burnak; lord Erikli-Berdi. Having witting of this, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich grew sad and grieved, and wondered about his [Edigei's] friendship and about his intent.

[MORALISTIC DISCOURSE]

And it was not surprising that he [Grand Prince Vasilii] thought thus about the Tatars because from the very beginning these Ishmaelites had been insincere concerning peace with the Russian princes, especially with Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, all the while flattering him and assuring him of peace. These Ishmaelites never speak truthfully with Christians. When there are a few Ishmaelites, then they fawn and are deceitful, make peace and concord, render honor and give presents. In this scheming manner, concealing their evil cunning, secretly bearing poison in their mind but promising a secure peace, they guilefully instigated the Russian

13. Widow of the late Prince Boris.

14. Edigei, as mentioned earlier, was Amir, actual ruler, of the Horde, although not the Khan.

1409 princes to fight [among themselves] and to forget their concord. They incited war among them and in such disputes they would stealthily appropriate their possessions.

These evil wolves deal with Christians according to the behest of their father, Satan, and so did it happen in the present days: the pious and Christ-loving Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, thanks to the Lord's grace, benevolently ruled his dominion, excelling in good deeds. These deceitful Ishmaelites, however, incited by envy, could not abide the growing prominence of his dominion or concord among the Christians; therefore they attempted in every way to destroy his dominion and subdue it, as well as those [dominions] of the other Russian princes. To this end they fawn on the Russian princes, dissembling peace. Lord God, however, by His grace, as well as His Mother Theotokos, put to nought their deceitful plans. Lord God would allow them to start a minor fight against us so that we would promise to eschew evil deeds and sinful habits. Then, thanks to God's mercy and thanks to His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, peace and wellbeing would descend upon us. If, however, we forgot [our promises] and moved away from the truth, hated each other, if brother would fight brother and we would appropriate another's possessions or perform bad deeds, then Lord God would for that reason raise up our enemies against us, would strike with His scepter upon our lawlessness and chastise us. Says the Lord, "A sinful man is to be chastised."

These evil sons of Hagar approached us stealthily in the manner of wolves, anticipating that some princes with whom they were at peace and toward whom they were well inclined would then be off their guard, and so they—the Tatars—would find a propitious time to realize their evil plottings. This Edigei, Amir of the Horde, more than any ruler of the Horde kept all the Horde under his control and placed khans according to his will, whomsoever he wanted. He demonstrated his deceitful love toward Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, greatly honored him and gave him many gifts. He—Edigei—called him—the Grand Prince—his son and the most beloved person, promising him more and more to increase his power, to elevate him above all other Russian princes. When his—the Grand Prince's—envoys would go to the Horde they would be greatly honored and well received and would be let back to Russia with honors, promises of concord and firm peace.[15]

15. This moralistic discourse was probably written by Metropolitan Daniel.

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[EDIGEI'S SIEGE OF MOSCOW] **1409**

In those days Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich was wrathful toward his father-in-law, Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, and had a dispute with him concerning some lands, as well as some problems of those lands, because at that time Vitovt Keistutovich ruled over the entire Lithuanian[16] and Kievan land. Thus, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich told Edigei, the great Amir of the Horde, everything about all the offenses suffered from his father-in-law, Vitovt Keistutovich, and wanted help from him because he [believed that he], Edigei, really liked him as if he [Vasilii] were his son.

This scheming and evilminded Edigei promised to aid his son [as he called him], Grand Prince Vasilii, in every way, saying, "When the other Russian princes behold our concord then they will become peaceful and meek and will fear you because I support you in your dominion; and for this reason you will be elevated and dread by all."

But [at the same time] he also sent to Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, commanding them to say, "Be my friend and I will be your friend. You should know that your son-in-law, Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow, intends to march into other people's countries and seeks to appropriate that which does not belong to him. And he intends to wage war against you and seize your lands. Be careful with him because he told me many things about you, such and such, and he sent silver and gold to me and to the Khan, and asked that either I or the Khan march with his host against you in order to capture you and burn your land so that he will be able to rule over your cities. And he tried to incite our animosity against you but my affection for you will never be extinguished. Accept all these words as correct and true, and do not reveal them to anyone."

This Edigei was already rejoicing in his heart, having the following in his mind: "When these two start fighting, then their troops will be reduced; or, if not, slaughtered to death. They will become weary and then it will be time for me to wage war rapidly against any of them I want, and none will be able to resist me."

16. Actually, West Russia.

1409 He sent to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, encouraging him against Vitovt and promising him some help. And so Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich assembled his princes, boyars and counsellors and told them of these tidings. The princes, boyars and counsellors jubilated and all Moscow was joyful because Edigei had proclaimed his friendship with Grand Prince Vasilii. They said, "All the Horde deals according to the will of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich and they will fight whomsoever he wants, and everything will be ours; we will be glorified above all."

So they started fighting Lithuania, having Tatar troops by their side, while the Lithuanians fought the men of Moscow; and so much blood was spilled, while the Tatars became enriched with captives and wealth. The boyars, voevodas and lords of Moscow were very happy but the elders did not approve, saying, "Our boyars' mind is not good because they summon to their aid the Tatars, paying them with silver and gold. Were there not before misfortunes and calamities between Kiev and Chernigov? They fought each other, asking the Tatars[17] to help them, brother fighting brother and delivering him over unto death. And they would invade the land of their kin. Thus did the Polovtsy learn about Russian weaponry, about the Russian host and the strength of the Russian princes; and then they fought against them and defeated all of them. And now do you want the same to recur?"

Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich fought with his father-in-law, Grand Prince Keistutovich of Lithuania, grew weary and agreed to an armistice; but the anger between them only increased. They were both exhausted and endured great losses because at that time there were no more older boyars in Moscow, hence, the young ones gave counsel regarding all things, about breaking the peace; and they rejoiced at the fighting and bloodshed. This occurred because there was no fair understanding amongst them.

Edigei unceasingly instigated quarrels between them both [Vasilii and Vitovt] because he knew they were relatives: one was father-in-law, the other was son-in-law; and he knew that they were not very inclined to wage war and that they disliked bloodshed and loved peace and concord. Therefore he would seed discord between them and look closely at the Russian weaponry and the Russian hosts, looking for a propitious time to fight Russia all the while.

At that time Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich sent to Moscow to

17. Actually, Polovtsy. These elders discussed the rivalry between the Ol'goviches and Monomakhoviches.

Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, seeking to go against Vitovt in unanimity. Svidrigailo was a Pole by faith[18] but he was a man very brave in war and staunch in battle. Therefore the Grand Prince and his boyars received him gladly and gave him many towns, almost half of the Grand Principality of Moscow, including the glorious city of Vladimir, in which was located the cathedral church of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, which also was called the "Golden Cupola Church" because it had five golden cupolas; and in it was the Wonderworking Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos which performed many miracles and signs, and frightened the pagans. All this was given to the new arrival, a Pole [Roman Catholic]. And therefore many misfortunes befell us when, later the courageous Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich and his brave army were put to confusion and fright like young children, and they fled during Edigei's invasion. **1409**

Toward the end of the third year of the discord between Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich and Vitovt they both reached the river Ugra and camped there for a short time; then they agreed on peace as of old and each marched back home. At that time the Tatars were roaming in the vicinity. Seeing how weary and exhausted the Russians were and learning all about their armaments and strength, they informed Edigei, Amir of the Horde, about it.

Sometimes Edigei called himself the "father" of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, while under cover of his secret he plotted to wage war and capture him whom he called his "son." And so he craftily sent word to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, saying, "Know, Vasilii, that Khan Bulat Sultan has marched with the entire Great Horde against Vitovt in order to avenge the misdeeds which he perpetrated upon your land. Render honor to the Khan. If you can not yourself go, then send your son or brother to the Khan; and if [you can not send] one of them, send him one of your lords. Do not fear for anything because I will aid you in all things." In such wise Edigei deceitfully prevented the [Russian] host from gathering, so that no resistance could be organized against him.

Edigei's envoy came to Moscow and spoke in such a fashion in the name of Edigei that Grand Prince Vasilii and everyone were confused because this was not the right news. Therefore they did not assemble their host but let one of their lords, by the name of Iurii, go to Edigei with a troop so that in case of war he would report. Edigei, however, caught Iurii and marched rapidly. In Mos-

18. Here, "Pole" denotes "Roman Catholic."

1409 cow they were awaiting word from Iurii but none was forthcoming. Still, a certain person brought posthaste the news that the Tatar host was advancing and was already manouevering in the vicinity.

Hearing these tidings, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich despaired at mustering any troops; nonetheless, he ordered that the city [of Moscow] be prepared for siege and left there his uncle, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, grandson of Ivan, great grandson also of Ivan, gr. gr. grandson of Danilo of Moscow, as well as his brothers, Prince Andrei Dmitrievich and Prince Petr Dmitrievich; together with them were the voevodas and a great multitude of people. He, himself, with his wife-princess and children, left for Kostroma.

The entire city was in a tumult: people were frightened and ran to and fro, thinking neither of their possessions nor of anything else; in such circumstances, robbers, thieves and marauders filled their arms with sacked wealth. The order was given to burn the suburbs and there was a great commotion, people crying and shouting; and the fiery flames crackled, billowing into the air. The city became besieged on all sides by the Tatars . It was Friday, toward evening, when the Tatar hosts multiplied and took up a postiion in the fields around the city; but they did not venture near the fortress walls because of the artillery and shooting from the fortifications.

Edigei, himself, also arrived and camped in the village of Kolomenskoe. Seeing that the people were affrighted and that no one opposed him, he let his host scatter over all the land. So, because of our sins, did Our Lord God humble us at the hands of our enemies: even where only one Tatar appeared, many of our men did not dare to resist him; whenever, however, two or three Tatars appeared, then a great multitude of Christians would flee from them, abandoning wives and children. In such wise was our pride defeated: it confirmed the portent when blood flowed from the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos in the district of Kolomna.

The Tatar host which was permitted by Edigei to scatter over the land campaigned, captured many people, seized and burned the city of Pereiaslavl' as well as the cities of Rostov, Dmitrov, Serpukhov, Vereia, Nizhnii Novgorod and Gorodets; and they occupied and burned the lands and towns. A great multitude of Christians perished from the winter cold: it was a severe winter and there were heavy snowstorms and strong winds. The proud Prince Svidrigailo and his courageous Lithuanians, however, pre-

1409

vailed in no wise against the aliens because their weapons and their martial arts grew feeble. Amir Edigei captured everyone and sent thither the Khan's son Begiberdei, his own son, Iakshibei, and Lord Sentilibei with thirty and four thousand select Tatar troops to chase after Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich; but they did not catch up with him and returned. Edigei, continuing to spread [his troops] around Moscow, captured everyone and laid everything waste so that only the city of Moscow was preserved by God and by the prayers of His Most Pure Mother Theotokos for the sake of Her Lifegiving Icon, as well as for the sake of the great wonderworker Peter, Metropolitan of all Russia.

Indeed, Amir Edigei neither stormed nor attacked the city of Moscow but planned to pass the winter there and to take it by some means because he was proud and had a high opinion of himself. He sent the Khan's son, Bulat, and Lord Erikli-Berdi to Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', ordering him to come immediately to him in Moscow with guns, artillery, harquebusses and arbolests. He—Prince Ivan—marched with them for a small distance, then stopped and, finally, let the Tatars go. He went back to the city of Klin because he neither desired to be a traitor toward Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich nor to anger Edigei. At that time runners came from the Horde, from Khan Bulat Sultan, ordering him to return to the Horde posthaste. This occurred because while Khan Bulat Sultan had let everyone go against Russia, a member of the Khan's family, considering that the time was propitious, started planning to seize power in the Great Horde and to cast out or kill Khan Bulat Sultan. Edigei took sudden fright because he had promised [his troops] that he would pass the winter [at Moscow] and because he was puffed up with much pride.

Now, however, he was put to confusion and fear, could not put off his departure a single day, and announced to his troops, "Let us return straightway to the Horde in order not to lose our power there because, should someone else [become Khan], he will take over our khanate while here Grand Prince Vasilii will gather his host and so they will defeat us. Then what will we be able to do thereafter?" So forthwith he sent to the city [of Moscow] asking for peace; and he concluded peace with the burghers, taking a ransom of three thousand rubles after having besieged Moscow for one month. And then he retreated, with his uncountable captives and booty.

1409 [HOMILETIC DISCOURSE]

Do you realize the mercy of the Man-loving God, of His Most Pure Mother Theotokos and of the Great Wonderworker Peter, Metropolitan of all Russia? Because of Them, this inimical Ishmaelite took fright and rapidly fled away. No one showed them resistance, but Lord God alone frightened them and pursued them. He let them wage war against us for a time to humble us but He did not forsake His mercy for us to the end. The boar of the prairie [Edigei] attacked us and a wild beast nearly devoured us, but he could not pluck out the root of our piety. Let us, therefore, learn how to perform good deeds, observe God's Commandments and please God through repentance, pious emotion, worship, alms and generosity toward the poor. Thus we will obtain a blessing in the present life and will receive the same in the future by the grace of the love toward us men of the Lord Jesus Christ. His is the glory and the power forever and ever. Amen.

The same winter Edigei's troops moved into the region of Tver', the land of the house of the Holy Saviour. They occupied the Klin region there, killed many people and took others into captivity. [*End of the story of Edigei's invasion.*]

[EDIGEI'S MESSAGE TO GRAND PRINCE VASILII DMITRIEVICH]

The same year Edigei, Amir of the Horde, sent to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich the following:

"We have heard that the children of Tokhtamysh reside with you, and for this reason we waged war against you. Further, we have heard that there is injustice in your cities: the envoys and merchants of the Horde journey to you and you laugh at them, so they are greatly offended and hurt in your land. This is not meet because in the olden time it [your land] was the Khan's *ulus* [dominion], and he ruled there. The taxes [were paid] and the Khan's envoys were respected, and our merchants were treated without injury or offense. Ask your elders how it used to be before. Now, however, you do not behave in the same way! And do you believe this is fitting? When Temir Kutlui took over power in the Horde you and your land became the *ulus* of that Khan; but you have not gone to the Khan in the Horde since [he ascended]. You have not appeared before the Khan's eyes and you sent him neither your princes nor your senior boyars nor your junior boyars, nor did you send anyone with your message to us: neither with your son nor

with your brother. Thereafter Shadi Beg reigned for eight years 1409
but you have never come to him nor sent anyone with a message. Shadi Beg's reign has passed and now Khan Bulat Sultan has ascended to the throne of the Horde and he has reigned for the third year but neither did you come nor did you send your son or your brother or your senior boyar. In such a great *ulus* you, Grand Prince, are senior; but all your actions are unjust and unfitting.

"There were good customs and good minds and good actions toward the Horde in the time of Fedor.[19] He was a good man and you should recall his good deeds toward the Horde. Now, though, all this is over and presently your son, Ivan, is your treasure, your favorite, your eldest, and you do not change either your attitude or your mind. Because of your way of thinking, there has been only harm for your *ulus* and many Christians have perished. You should do thus no longer and not heed the young men, but gather your senior boyars and many elders of the land and, with them, ponder on good counsel which would benefit your Christians, both the small and the great; and then none may perish in your dominion on account of your pride.

"If you do not intend to do thuswise but desire to act in your own way, then you will be our slave or run. It would be beneficial for you to know how to live, how to look after [our] taxes, how to prosper and exist in your *ulus* without poverty, and how to rule there. In the case you suffer offense either from the Russian princes or from Lithuania, then you send us your complaints and petitions, suing for protection against them; but now we have no peace at all from you. Dealing thuswise, you altogether impoverish your *ulus* and there are no taxes collected [for us]. We have never beheld your *ulus* with our own eyes, but have only heard of it. All your wittings and charters which you sent to us, to the Horde—all this was a lie. And although in your *ulus* the tax is one ruble from every two *sokhi*,[20] what have you done with this silver? It would be worthy if you realized what you ought to do. You should have transmitted it to us rightfully, according to the old way, and then no harm would befall your *ulus* and no Christian would perish or die, and

19. Probably, Grand Prince Fedor Olgovich of Riazan' is meant here; however, he was still ruling there in 1409.

20. *Sokha:* a taxable land unit which varied in size according to the soil and the productivity. In the seventeenth century about one thousand five hundred acres made up a *sokha*.

1409 neither our fierce wrath nor our wars would be raised against you." *[End of Edigei's message.]*

[HOMILY ON REPENTANCE AND COUNSEL]

We ought to understand why the sons of Hagar rose up against us. Is it not obvious that Lord God let them go against us because of our sins, so that we turn to Him and repent? There is much injustice in our land, envy, hatred, pride, robbery, thievery, sacking, violence, lechery, gluttony, graft, lying, imbibing, calumny, gossiping, revelry, dancing, devilish entertainment, all manner of pride, all sort of highmindedness, of doubts concerning divine reasoning, all manner of opposition to divine law, of disdain for the Lord's Commandments. For these reasons divine wrath will befall His disobedient sons. If, however, you turn away from evil and repent, we will be pardoned and saved by the Man-loving God. In the case we do not turn to God and do not repent, we will only encounter enemies. All this has already been written and it is unfitting not to see that all the woe and misfortune which has occurred in our land has been to our edification. In these writings we can find the blessed and unforgettable [lessons]. We do not seek to annoy or expose but want to remind that we can find such lessons in our original chroniclewriting of Kiev, wherein all the events in our land demonstrate forthwith. Even our first rulers commanded without wrath to write about good and bad events so that an unclouded picture of them should appear. Thus in the time of Vladimir Monomakh great [Abbot] Sylvester of the Vydubitskii monastery wrote without embellishing [our past], and everyone who wants to know [about it] should read it for his edification.[21]

All the blessings and the ways of salvation in the present and future derive not from wrath, pride or luxury but from simpleness, spiritual emotion and humility; humbleness leads to all blessings and without it none may result. That was the way in which, in older times, the early fathers, rejecting wrath but adhering to simpleness and obedience, attained all the benefits of earthly and of eternal

21. Sylvester, Abbot of the Vydubitskii monastery around 1114, edited the second version of *The Primary Chronicle*. Likhachev, D. S., *Povest' vremmenykh let*, AN SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, Vol. 2, pp. 125–130. It is generally surmised that upon coming to Kiev in 1113 Vladimir Monomakh entrusted the chronicle writing to Sylvester.

life, and they have bequeathed this way to us. Likewise we, having learned this, should not fail to advise our liege lords—who take careful heed—that they should reason carefully concerning such things [*i.e.*, problems of the state] and select the best and most blessed. The young should respect their elders' advice and not act arbitrarily in the state affairs of our land without the keenest advisers. Elders are a city's beauty, and the counsel of white-haired elders is most respected. Men of venerable age are not longlived but are esteemed. As Solomon says, gray hairs are the sign of wisdom for men, and old age results in a blameless life. [*Apocrypha: Wisd. of Solomon*, 4:9] And we hear everywhere that the beauty of a city is its men of old age, because even God honors elders. Scripture says, Ask your father and he will advise you, and your elders will counsel you. [End of the *Homily*.] **1410**

The same year posadnik Anfal of Novgorod waged war against the Bulgars of the Kama and Volga. One hundred boats went by the Kama and one hundred fifty boats on the Volga river. The boats from the Kama were the first to arrive but the boats of the Volga did not come on time and so the Tatars marched against them and defeated them, while Anfal was captured and taken to the Horde.

In the year 6918/1410. The first day of the month of September from Constantinople to Kiev there came Metropolitan Photius of all Russia, who had been consecrated by Matthew, Patriarch of Constantinople. He was received with great joy, love and honor by all the Russian princes, boyars and people, and there was great gladness throughout the entire land.

[PRINCE SVIDRIGAILO RETURNS TO LITHUANIA]

The same fall Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich, grandson of Gedimin, whose valor, bravery, courage and manlihood in battle were so much praised and who was so frightened by Edigei's Tatars that he wearied, fleeing from them with his brave [*Sic!*] Lithuanians, and who had been granted the glorious city of Vladimir, as well as Pereiaslavl', Kolomna and a great number of others, with lands, towns and estates—but why should we speak at such length, nearly half the entire principality of Moscow was under him—but who was unable to manifest any victory against the sons of Hagar—went back to his Lithuania, having sacked the city of Serpukhov, and went home with great booty.

1410 NARRATIVE ABOUT THE PASSING OF BLESSED ARSENIUS, BISHOP OF TVER'

His passing occurred rapidly and wordlessly, and none should marvel at this because God's intentions are unknown. Therefore we should take heed of ourselves and bewail our own sins, not attempt to ascertain the mysterious designs of God. It is said: the Lord tells thee, do not seek out those whose wisdom is beyond you and do not investigate what is beyond your strength. [*Apocrypha: Syrach 3:21*] Great Athanasius[22] says that even many pious men suffer before death; therefore we, beholding this, should fear God and preserve our chastity. Holy people who have some fault are cleansed before death by such pains and they are completely purified by them and so pass away incorrupt.

Sinful men, though, sometimes pass away tranquilly and peacefully and die straightway, but, having passed, they undergo all manner of unbearable torments. St. Anastasius of Sinai says, "Many who leave their bodies through a bitter death find salvation." And another father [of the church] says, "None knows the intent of God: many just men have an honorable and tormentful death, while many sinful men pass away without tribulation and depart from their bodies through a quiet and peaceful death." About all those and others the great Apostle Paul, exclaiming, said, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God, how unsearchable are His judgments and His ways are past tracing. For who has known the mind of God? And who has been His councillor?" [*Rom. 11:33–34*]

In the week of the Council, on Sunday,[23] he observed the fast, according to tradition; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday he spent in the same way as the Sunday of the Council, and he had a headache; but toward midnight his organ of speech fell silent and closed and no word or voice issued forth. When the month of March arrived and, according to the books, it was the first day [of the month of March]—while according to the lunar calendar it was the fifteenth day of February, a Friday, Grand

22. Athanasius: an outstanding early father of the church, Patriarch of Alexandria about 295–373 A.D.

23. First week of Lent, named after the First Sunday of Lent, when, during the service of the Triumph of Orthodoxy the Council of Constantinople of 843, which restored the veneration of the icons, is remembered.

Prince Ivan Mikhailovich came to him after vespers with his brothers, children and boyars, and ordered the archimandrites, abbots and priests to annoint him with holy oil. There were many people who had come to him for his blessing and forgiveness but he was unable to speak. Such fright and terror! 1410

He, who was so glorified and honored,
Lay speechless, struck by insensibility,
trembling,
having hunger instead of food,
thirst instead of drink,
illness instead of peace,
grief instead of restfulness,
humiliation instead of honor,
humility instead of glory.
Alack! Alas!
Such is quickly passing human life.

Ten monks were seated nigh to him but they could hear nothing from him, only his sore breathing and the sighing of his heart. The same night in the middle of the third hour of the second day of the month of March, when Saturday was dawning, he departed this life and his spirit was taken up by the Lord, and there was great wailing and weeping but nothing could avail but good deeds.

Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', together with his brothers, boyars and all other people, decided to place his body in the monastery of the Holy Fathers Antonius and Theodosius in Zheltikovo, which was founded by him. They sang over him the funeral chants in the cathedral church of the Holy Transfiguration of the Lord, accompanied him in honor to the monastery created by him, to the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Zheltikovo on the river Tmaka, and there they buried him on the second day of the month of March, chanting psalms and funeral hymns. He most carefully shepherded the church of Tver' for nineteen years and six months, after being the archdeacon of Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia; and he was consecrated Bishop of Tver' by the latter under Grand Prince Mikhail Aleksandrovich of Tver'. He passed away during the reign of his son, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver'. Many miraculous cures were performed at his grave among those who went thither with faith.

1410 [ARRIVAL OF METROPOLITAN PHOTIUS]

The same spring His Holiness, Metropolitan Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, who was consecrated in Constantinople in the year 6917/1409 by blessed Matthew, Patriarch of Constantinople, during the reign of Manuel, Emperor of Constantinople,[24] when Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow ruled Russia—came from Constantinople to Kiev and all Russia in the year 6918. He came to Kiev the first day of September and then in the month of April on the very day [of Easter] of the great day of the Resurrection of Christ he came to Moscow. He was met by a procession of the Sacred Council with crosses, and Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich himself, with princes and boyars and many people, went afar off from the city to meet him, and everyone rejoiced greatly and was happy. They met him with honor and faith and the entire earth was glad, there was happy rejoicing. At that time the kingdom of Poland was under Iagailo Olgerdovich, grandson of Gedimin; the grand principality of Vilna was under Vitovt Keistutovich, also grandson of Gedimin, father-in-law of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich; in the grand principality of Tver' at that time was Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich, grandson of Aleksandr, great grandson of Mikhail Iaroslavovich; in the Great Horde Khan Bulat Sultan ruled; and the greatest lord over all the lords of the Horde was Amir Edigei, the Accursed; in Riazan' at that time Grand Prince Fedor Olgovich, grandson of Ivan, son-in-law of [the late] Grand Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich of Moscow, was on the throne. After the Tatar invasion of the evil Edigei all the land was still laid waste and nearly all the population was captured by these sons of Hagar, of the accursed and damned Edigei. And there was no Metropolitan.[25]

Metropolitan Photius cared for all this in his prayers and his tears before Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, and before the great wonderworkers, asking them for the protection of his flock in the entire Russian land. At that time there were frequent famines and plagues but he taught everyone—from the young to the the old—the Divine Word, the teaching of the Divine Scripture [and instructed] how to observe Christ's Commandments,

24. Emperor Manuel II Paleologue, r. 1391–1425.
25. After the death of Cyprian in 1407.

how to eschew evil and how to abide with the Blessed One. And so, after the Tatars and after frequent plagues, again the population of the Russian land began to increase. Therefore Metropolitan Photius began to restore the income and fees of his ecclesiastic metropolia, and he began to look for whatsoever [ecclesiastic possessions] were lost, had been seized by the princes or boyars, or had been appropriated by grafters. [He brought back] the towns, lands, benefits and taxes to the house of Christ and the Most Pure Theotokos and of the great and holy wonderworkers, Peter and Alexis [the late Metropolitans of Russia]. And he took over from them all these [properties and these incomes] and firmly placed them in the house of Christ and the Most Pure Theotokos and holy wonderworkers Peter and Alexis, of the entire sacred Metropolia of All Russia. [Thus he brought back to the church] the income, taxes, estates, waters, towns and lands. Some others he bought for the glory of the Name of Christ and the Most Pure Theotokos, for the purpose of feeding the poor and the paupers, as it is written: "The wealth of the church is the wealth of the poor."[26] "He that hath pity on the poor lendeth to God." [*Prov.* 19:17] "Blessed is he who cares for the poor and the paupers. In the day of distress he will be delivered by God, and God will preserve him and let him live and he will be blessed on this earth. God will not deliver him into the hands of his enemies. Sins are cleansed by alms, just as water extinguishes fire. Alms cleanse sins." The holy prophet Daniel said, "Break off thy sins by righteousness and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." [*Dan.* 4:21] **1410**

This Metropolitan Photius was very keen, virtuous and manly. By birth and upbringing, he was a Greek from Morea [Peloponesus]. From his youth he loved God and relinquished this world and all that is in it; whilst yet young he received the tonsure from the great elder Akakius; later, when this blessed Akakius ascended to the high throne of Patriarch, this Photius went to him and abode with him. There by the grace of God he was consecrated to the great episcopal See of the Metropolia of Kiev and All Russia. It was difficult for him to become accustomed to his new position, a new land, to its foreign language, to all the worries, gossip, dissensions and difficulties which came from all sides. He became

26. From the 59th rule of the Apostles.

1410 exhausted and saddened, and therefore with humility and meekness he asked Lord God and His Most Pure Theotokos for help. God cared for him and helped him with His grace.

The same spring in the month of May Prince Vladimir Andreevich [of Serpukhov, hero of Kulikovo], grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Danilo of Moscow, passed away and he instructed his princess and his children to give to the Metropolitan of All Russia, to the house of Christ, of the Most Pure Theotokos and the great wonderworkers Peter and Alexis, to his spiritual father, His Holiness Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, his town of Kudrino with all the villages and estates, as it used to be of yore, and to do so for his and his descendants' salvation. His Princess Elena, daughter of Olgerd Gediminovich of Lithuania, according to the instruction of her husband, Prince Vladimir Andreevich, as well as her children, gave to her spiritual father, His Holiness Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, for the house of Christ, of the Most Pure Theotokos and great wonderworkers Peter and Alexis, the town of Great Kudrino, and together with this town the villages Ananino, Obeltsino, Beztuzhevo, Afanasievo, Davydovo, Diakonovo, Kraskovo, Redkino, Vydreshkovo, Radukino, Valchino, Zakharovo and Timoshkino with their forests, settlements and all estates, as they used to be together as of old. She did thus for her husband, for herself, for their parents, for their children and for all their descendants.

The same year in Novgorod there passed away posadnik Timofei and another posadnik, Osip Zakharich.

The same year there was a great battle between King Iagailo Olgerdovich, called Vladislav, and Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania with the Germans of Prussia. This happened in the Prussian land between the cities Dubrovno and Ostrot. They killed their Grand Master, their marshall, their commander, their officers, and defeated their entire German force. They occupied the German cities. Only three fortresses did not surrender to the [Polish] king and Vitovt.[27]

The same fall the Poles and the Lithuanians had three other

27. This was the famous battle of Gruenwald, in which Polish and Russian-Lithuanian forces under the command of Iagailo and Vitovt inflicted a decisive defeat upon the Teutonic Order of German Knights in Prussia.

1411

battles with the Germans and in all these three battles they defeated the Germans; but the Germans also killed many Christians [Russians], Lithuanians and Poles. They besieged the fortress of Marienburg for eight weeks and took two of its citadels; but the third, the highest one, they could not take. They campaigned in the German land for eleven and a half weeks [*poldruginadtsatyi*].

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich [of Moscow] commanded that the fortress of Pleso be built.

The same year Khariton, Archimandrite of Kiev, built on Krasnyi (Beautiful) Island a stone church dedicated to three Church Fathers.[28]

The same year the accursed Edigei, lord of the Horde, campaigned in the seashore cities and caused much harm there.[29]

The same year in Novgorod John, lord Archbishop of Novgorod, built a stone baptistery in which water was to be blessed every month, as well as a stone bakery.[30]

The same year the people of Pskov concluded a peace treaty with Vitovt Keistutovich [of Lithuania].

In the year 6919/1411. In the month of September the Tatars raided the land of Riazan'. The people of Riazan' pursued and defeated them, and took back the captives.

In the same fall in the month of October there was high water in all the rivers in the land of Dmitrov and there was a great flood everywhere.

The same fall on the thirtieth day of the month of November a miracle occurred in Novgorod in the church of St. Archangel Michael in Skovorodka. For two days and two nights a sound emanated from its cupola.

The same winter there was a portent in Novgorod in the church of the Holy Martyr George in the section of Liubianitsa: blood emerged from the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos.

The same winter in the month of January on the day when St. John Kushnik is remembered there was a battle near Liskov

28. Three Church Fathers: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and St. John Chrysostom.

29. Most probably, here are meant the Crimean cities on the Black Seashore.

30. *Peklinitsa*: from *pech'*, to bake; or from *peklevat'*—to grind, to mill very fine; Dal', III, 27. Probably, a bakery for communion bread.

1411 between Prince Petr Dmitrievich of Moscow, the Princes of Rostov, Iaroslavl' and Suzdal', Prince Daniil Borisovich and his brother, Prince Ivan of Nizhnii Novgorod on the one side, and the lords of the Bulgars and Zhukotin.[31] There was an evil massacre. Prince Danilo Vasilievich and many others were killed on both sides, and the Novgorodian princes of Nizhnii Novgorod and the lords of Kazan left their bones there.

The same winter Khan Temir became the ruler of the Horde and lord Edigei barely escaped.

The same winter Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' sent a boyar to Metropolitan Photius. Photius went to Tver' and on the second day of the month of February he consecrated Antonius bishop of Tver'.

The same spring Grand Princess Evdokiia, the wife of Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver', daughter of Prince Dmitri Eremeevich, passed away on the thirteenth day of the month of April, a Monday, the day after Easter, and she was buried in the cathedral church of the Transfiguration of the Lord in Tver'.

The same year Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich of Tver' went from Tver' to Lithuania and he met the King [of Poland] and Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich in Kiev. At that time Tokhtamysh's son, Zeleni Sultan, was visiting Vitovt Keistutovich. The same year Tokhtamysh's son, Sultan, raided the dominions of the Horde and sacked them.

[TATAR ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE METROPOLITAN PHOTIUS]

The same year His Holiness Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia, journeyed from Moscow to Vladimir. He sojourned there several days but he learned nothing because there were neither feuds nor uprisings. It was a quiet and peaceful time. Prince Danilo Borisovich of Nizhnii Novgorod, however, stealthily and in secret from all, brought thither the Khan's son, Talych; he sent him and his boyar, Semion Karamyshev, with two hundred and fifty Tatars and two hundred fifty Russians against Vladimir. They came through the forest stealthily from the Kliazma river to Vladimir at noon and there was no defense in the city, nor was the namestnik, Iurii Vasilievich Shcheka, there. After vespers His Holiness Metropolitan Photius journeyed from Vladimir to his own dominion

31. Here are meant the Volga Bulgar lords.

of Seneg. It was toward the end of the day of July 2. When he was **1411**
on Lake Sviat near the Church of the Holy Transfiguration of the Lord which was erected by Metropolitan Cyprian and where the latter often sojourned because he loved the virgin forest land—there were many lakes and impassable strong places which belonged to the Metropolitan—there Metropolitan Photius received tidings from Vladimir. "The Khan's son, Talysh, has come to Vladimir to fight, together with many troops and with Semion Karamyshev, the voevoda of Prince Danilo Borisovich of Nizhnii Novgorod. They came on the second day after your departure and they may come to your place quite soon."

Photius went to his impassable forest and the lake of Seneg, and the Tatars could not catch up with Metropoltian Photius. They returned and everywhere mercilessly killed a great number of people, took the city's herds, occupied and burned the suburbs, killed a countless number of people and sacked their property.

At that time a certain priest, Patritius, a Greek who had come with Photius from Byzantium, a reliable and highly virtuous man who was keymaster [of the cathedral] locked himself up with other people in the church. He gathered the golden and silver church vessels and other valuable things and took them up to the choirloft of the church of the Holy Theotokos, where he preserved them. He left several people there but he, himself, descended, removed the ladder and remained alone before the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, weeping and shedding tears.

The Tatars were yelling and crying out in Russian to open up the church doors to them; but the keymaster remained immovable before the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, not heeding the evil sons of Hagar. These godless ones, however, broke down the church doors, entered therein, removed all the valuables from the miraculous Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, as well as from the other icons, and sacked the entire church. They started torturing the presbyter, Patritius, asking where the rest of the church treasury was and where the people were who had been with him in the church. He endured many tortures but told them nothing, even when they put him on a frying pan and put splinters under his nails. They flayed him, cut his legs and then dragged him attached to the tail of a horse. He passed away full of patience in this great pain and for the sake of God he accepted a martyr's crown.

The Tatars sacked all the churches, burned them, slaughtered

1411 an endless number of people, took others into captivity and stole a vast amount of wealth, gold and silver.

Those who were captured and later escaped said, as it is related, that they took such a great amount of wealth, costly vestments and highly precious objects that they could not carry them home, so they put them in great piles as if they were hay, and burned them. They carried off with them only gold, silver, priceless vestments and a great amount of other wealth, and the rest they burned. They divided the money among themselves by cupfuls. During this conflagration many bells melted. Everywhere were corpses of the dead and they were infinitely numerous both in the city, outside the city, and around the city as well as in the districts and villages. Everywhere lay a countless number of dead. This happened on the third day of July.

[METROPOLITAN PHOTIUS SOJOURNS IN HIS HERMITAGE]

Metropolitan Photius, who by the mercy of God and the Most Pure Theotokos had escaped these accursed Ishmaelites, thanked the Most Merciful God and prayed for his spiritual son, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, as well as for the other princes and all Christians, asking God and the Most Pure Theotokos to preserve them from Tatar captivity. Near his lake of Seneg on the shore in the forest he erected a church dedicated to the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos. Completing the building, he celebrated a liturgy to Christ God, asking for all mercy and delivery from the godless sons of Hagar. With him in the hermitage of lake Seneg near the Church of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos a certain Bulgarian, priest-monk Pakhomius, sojourned too. He had come to Russia from Byzantium together with Metropolitan Photius. He lived with Photius in the hermitage of the great elder Akakius in Morea[32] because that place was very quiet and no one spoke there. Photius sojourned at Lake Seneg four weeks and three days in complete silence and without speaking, in spiritual joy, and in prayer. And he remembered his former life in the hermitage when he was a novice of the great and blessed elder Akakius, when all of them lived in the hermitage in spiritual comtemplation, visions and the cleansing of their minds. There they would read divine scripture with an understanding of its depths, and they abode there

32. Morea: Now usually called Peloponnesus, in southern Greece.

in spiritual joy. Here [at Seneg] beholding this quiet place, he built **1411**
a church whither he often came, admiring the vast forest and impassable wilderness, the infinite tranquility and silence. There he would sigh, meditate and enjoy spiritual contemplation, tears would course from his eyes and he would say, weeping, "Woe is me, a sinner! Whenever did I think that before my passing I would abandon silence and give up my weeping and humble life, and cease pondering my sins? Woe is me! What happened to me? Why, in place of peace, I must labor beyond my strength? Woe is me! From such silence and tranquility I moved into talking and confusion. How could this ship of my soul move away from such peace into such a whirlpool of passions? Woe is me, a sinner! I am not sure what I must do."

And so, weeping and woeful, he pined and lost his strength because of his present madding, vain and rapidly passing life.

[GRAND PRINCE VASILII DMITRIEVICH SUMMONS METROPOLITAN PHOTIUS]

When Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich heard about his condition he sent to him, asking him to return to Moscow. He departed from thence regretfully for Moscow, weeping over the events and the misfortunes of the Christians at the hands of the Tatars. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich met him with great honor, discussed the last invasion by the impure sons of Hagar, and they presented their sadness to Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos because God can do all but man, nothing. If God does not wish to protect a city, it is vain to guard it. The Grand Prince also began to console Metropolitan Photius about the latter's personal sadness.

"Do not grieve, Father, because Lord God elected you and set you to take care of His divine problems so that you would be the shepherd of His people, for whom He shed His blood. And He put you in His place to be the shepherd and counsellor of all. Be patient and courageous and you will be saved and will receive your great recompense. Pray for us so that we will be preserved and saved through your holy prayers." And so he, Photius, put aside his sadness and became consoled with thoughts of God.

[PRINCESS ANNA WEDS THE BYZANTINE PRINCE JOHN]

Thereafter Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich took counsel with his father, Metropolitan Photius, about his daughter, Anna, whom

1412 he wanted to give in marriage to Byzantium, to Constantinople, to the Emperor's son, John, the son of Manuel. Metropolitan Photius agreed with him and gave his blessing.

The same year Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich gave his Princess Anna in marriage to the Emperor's son, Ivan Manuelovich, to Constantinople.

The same year the Polish King Iagailo and Vitovt, Grand Prince of Lithuania, waged war against Marienburg.[33] They defeated the German armies, took a ransom of three hundred thousand gold coins, made peace and returned home.

The same year Swedish troops invaded and took the Novgorodian settlement in Karelia. The Novgorodian troops under Prince Semion, also called Lugven Olgerdovich, fought against them, entered the Swedish lands, campaigned and burned the towns, captured Swedish soldiers and hacked others to pieces. Near the city of Viborg they seized and burned the suburbs.

The same year construction of a cathedral church in Rostov dedicated to the Most Pure Theotokos, which had burned in an earlier conflagration, was completed and it was consecrated by Gregory, lord Archbishop of Rostov.

The same year John, lord Archbishop of Novgorod, erected a stone church dedicated to the holy confessors Gurius, Samonas and Abib. The same year in Novgorod the Novgorodain merchants started using [as money] the squirrel fur, the *grosz*[34] and the *artug*. They stopped using the *kuna* as coin, that being the pelt of martens. This happened during the tenure of posadnik Grigorii Bogdanovich and tysiatskii Vasilii Osipovich. The same year the men of Zavoloch'e, on order of Novgorod, campaigned under the command of voevoda Iakov Stepanovich against the Norwegians[35] and defeated them.

In the year 6920/1412. September. Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich of Tver' returned from Lithuania, where he had been greatly honored by Vitovt. The same fall Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' laid the foundation of a fortification on the limits of the Novgorodian land.

33. Marienburg: captial of the Teutonic Order in East Prussia. Its majestic fortifications have been preserved up to now.

34. *Grosz:* a hundredth part of a *zloty,* a Polish and Lithuanian coin. *Artug:* a Swedish coin.

35. In *Nik.*, Murmans.

The same winter on the eighth day of December, when on the occasion of the holiday of the Holy Conception Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich [of Kashin] attended vespers in his town of Strashkov, a very great serpent flew from the direction of the city of Kashin. It was terrifying, breathing fire, and it flew from east to west toward a certain lake. It shone as if it were already dawn. It was seen by Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich, by his boyars, by everyone, and in all the villages and towns around the city; and they saw it at the same time.[36] **1412**

The same winter on the seventeenth day of January Prince Ivan Vasilievich of Iaroslavl' gave his daughter, Maria, in marriage to Prince Aleksandr Fedorovich.

The same winter Zeleni Sultan, son of Tokhtamysh, became Khan of the Horde and he chased out Emir Edigei.

The same year there was a drought in Nizhnii Novgorod. People paid forty *altyn*[37] or four *altyn* in old coins for a measure of rye.

[THE GRAND PRINCE OF TVER' ARRESTS THE PRINCE OF KASHIN]

The same year there came to Tver' from the Horde, from Khan Zeleni Sultan, son of Tokhtamysh, a very mean envoy, and he asked Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' to go to the Horde. At that time there was great discord between Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich and Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin. Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' commanded that his brother, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich, be arrested, as well as his boyars and squires, and this happened on the twenty-eighth day of the month of June. He placed his own namestnik in Kashin and commanded that his princess-wife be also brought to Tver'. The next day, Thursday, after vespers, he sent his brother, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin, under guard, to Novyi Gorodok. When they came to Perevolok and dismounted from their horses the Prince went galloping off on his horse, leaving behind his helmet and coat. He crossed the river Tmaka and escaped, avoiding the highroads. Then it happened that in a certain village he encountered a man who took care of him, who hid him secretly in the forest and provided

36. Probably, this was a comet.
37. *Altyn:* an old Russian copper coin.

1413 him with tidings. [The Prince] escaped with him to Moscow even though he was searched for everywhere but could not be found.

The same year both grand princes—Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania and Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver'—came to the agreement to act in unanimity. The same year two days before St. Elias' day there was a portent in the city of Kashin. In the evening they saw a sickle in the clouds.

The same year Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin journeyed from Moscow to the Horde, to Khan Zeleni Sultan, son of Tokhtamysh.

The same year the princes of Nizhnii Novgorod left the Horde, having received from Khan Zeleni Sultan the patent to remain in their patrimony.

[GRAND PRINCE VASILII GOES TO THE HORDE]

The same year on the first of the month of August, when Holy Eleazar and Solomonia and her seven sons are remembered, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow journeyed to the Horde to Khan Zeleni Sultan, son of Tokhtamysh. He took great wealth with him and was accompanied by all his lords. Prince Ivan Vasilievich of Iaroslavl' also went with him.

The same year during the fast of Our Lady there rose a flood and high water in all the rivers.

[THE GRAND PRINCE OF TVER' GOES TO THE HORDE]

The same year on the fifteenth day of the month of August, the holiday of the Dormition of the Most Pure Theotokos, Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' went to the Horde to Khan Zeleni Sultan, son of Tokhtamysh. He went by boat on the Volga river, having received a blessing from his spiritual father, Bishop Anthony, and the entire Sacred Council. He was bade farewell by his sons and by a large number of people shedding tears. Together with him were many boyars and squires, while other boyars and many squires accompanied him to Nizhni Novgorod. Letting them return, he proceeded to the Horde.

Before his arrival in the Horde, by the grace of God and the Most Pure Theotokos, through the intercession of Our Lady, this our evil enemy, Khan Zeleni Sultan, son of Tokhtamysh, died. He was shot while fighting by his brother, Kerim Berdi.

In the year 6921/1413. Month of September. Gregory, lord

Bishop of Rostov, built over the Volga river in Dragomilovo a stone church dedicated to the Annunciation of the Most Pure Theotokos. He erected it with the blessing of Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. This Bishop Gregory was the second archbishop of Rostov, the first being Theodore, nephew of St. Sergius, abbot of Radonezh.[38] Gregory forsook the land around the town of Kudrino [because the land in Dragomilovo belonged to the Metropolitan, and so this land of Kudrino] became part of the Metropolitan's estate. **1413**

The same fall in September Prince Semion, also called Lugven, son of Olgerd, grandson of Gedimin, left Novgorod for Lithuania and he took with him his administrators in the Novgorodian towns. The same fall in Novgorod, near Verezh bridge, the church of St. Nicholas was built.

The same fall in the month of October on St. Demetrius' day Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow and Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich of Kashin left the Horde. The same fall Khan Kerim Berdi became ruler of the Horde.

The same fall on the thirty-first day of October, at night, the town of Gorodets on the Volga, in the land of Tver', burned. The church of the Most Pure Theotokos, the estate of the Prince and many properties of the Prince, and rye and all manner of supplies, also burned.

The same winter on the twenty-fourth day of the month of December, Christmas Eve, Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich returned from the Tatars to his city of Kashin; however, Prince Ivan Borisovich and the guard of Tver' in the city of Kashin did not let him enter, and Prince Vasilii Mikhailovich again went back to the Horde.

ABOUT THE SCATTERING IN NOVGOROD OF ANONYMOUS LIBELOUS LETTERS BY KING IAGAILO OF POLAND AND VITOVT OF LITHUANIA

The same winter on the second day of January in Novgorod [the men of] the Polish King Iagailo Olgerdovich and the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich, as well as of the Lithuanian Prince Semion Lugven, secretly distributed anonymous letters of libel in Novgorod, which read,

38. Monastery of the Holy Trinity and St. Sergius in present Zagorsk.

1413 "You promised us that when the Germans should give us a pledge on the cross concerning peace and a treaty, you, too along with the Germans, would pledge us on the cross regarding peace and a treaty. Therefore, you should have made a pledge on the cross when the Germans did so, and you should also have pledged on the cross to the Germans about peace and a treaty, and should be in good covenant with us. To this end we sent you our lords, Nemira and Ninovii Bratoshich, to ask you whether you intend to hold to your promise. You answered them, 'Novgorod can not do this because we are already at peace with the Lithuanians, just as we are at peace with the Germans. We accepted your Prince Lugven and we confirmed an eternal covenant of peace with the Germans, with the Iugra,[39] and we are at peace with all the lands along our border.' But you have forgotten your promise to which you agreed with us that you would be allied with us. And you lied to us about everything, and thereby you committed perjury. Your people misbehaved, cursed us and called us pagans and infidels; but we are Christian and we, ourselves, hate the pagans. In addition, you admitted to your land Prince Fedor Iurievich, Grandson of Sviatoslav of Smolensk, our enemy. Now, because of your wrongdoing we are eschewing peace with you and therefore we eschew our pledge on the cross concerning peace and a treaty."

Thereupon Prince Semion, also called Lugven Olgerdovich, forsook his pledge on the cross to Novgorod, saying,

"I stand firmly by the Polish King Iagailo and the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich. You had a good mind toward me and supported me, which was meet, and I stood with you against your enemies and toiled and spilled my blood for you. Now, however, the seniors of our kin, the Polish King Iagailo and the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich, are in disagreement with you; therefore I, also, am at odds with you. I am their brother and I can not be at odds with them; therefore, you should not be wroth with me because of these events."

Prince Fedor Iurievich, grandson of Sviatoslav of Smolensk, learning that because of him there could ensue strife and bloodshed, told the Novgorodians,

"My Novgorodian brethren and friends! When I was in diffi-

39. Iugra: a Finno-Ugric tribe in the eastern part of the Novgorodian lands.

culty you were well disposed toward me and succoured me; for this, Lord God will succour you. Now because of me you are in discord and enmity [with Lithuania and Poland] and there may even ensue bloodshed because of me. Do not, however, on account of me be at odds with Vitovt, and let me go whithersoever God directs me." **1413**

And so he went to the Germans,[40] weeping and shedding many tears.

[ARCHBISHOP OF NOVGOROD VISITS THE METROPOLITAN]

The same year John, lord Archbishop of Novgorod, visited in Moscow His Holiness Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, and he arrived with respect and with gifts. During his sojourn in Moscow Joachim, archdeacon of the lord Archbishop of Novgorod, died and was buried in the monastery of St. John Chrysostom near the city of Moscow.

[EVENTS IN TVER']

The same year on the nineteenth day of the month of March, Sunday, Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich of Tver' again laid the foundation of the fortress of Goroden'; he sent thither a great many people from Tver' and Kashin, and the fortress was completed very swiftly. The same spring Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' returned from the Horde, having been released home by Kerim Berdi, Khan of the Great Horde. He left the Horde with honors and with the patent [for the land of Tver']. He came to his patrimony of Tver' to be grand prince of Tver' on the ninth day of the month of April in the morning. He was met by Antonius, Bishop of Tver', and by all the clergy, which received him in a procession with crosses, honor and great gladness.

The same year in the land of Novgorod the Great, in Porkhov, during the rule of Prince Iurii, they built the stone church of St. Nicholas. The same year John, lord Archbishop of Novgorod, together with the Novgorodian voevodas, built in Khrevskovo Street a stone cathedral church dedicated to St. Archangel Gabriel. The lord Archbishop, himself, consecrated it when it was the holiday of this church.[41] The same year in Novgorod Ivan Morozov built

40. That is, to the Knights of the Livonian Order.
41. The day of the remembrance of Archangel Gabriel (March 26).

1413 a stone church dedicated to the Conception of St. John the Precursor.

[THE STORY OF LUKA OF KOLOCHA]

The same year in Kolocha, fifteen versts distant from Mozhaisk, there was a portent in the domain of Prince Andrei Dmitrievich, grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Ivan, gr. gr. grandson of Danilo of Moscow. A certain man by the name of Luka, from a simple family of poor peasants, the poorest one, found in a certain place on a certain tree an icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, holding Her Infant in Her arms, Our Lord Jesus Christ. On one folding part of this triptych was St. Nicholas; on the other was Elias the Prophet. He took it up, venerated it with great faith and placed it in his field in an ordinary place on a tree. Thither came a certain man who took it away from him; but Luka implored him, gave him oat grain, took back this icon and went to his own house. In his house there was a man who had been paralysed for many years. Luka showed him the icon and related to him in detail how he had found it. This paralysed man was greatly astonished and beseeched Luka to bring him this icon. Luka carried it to him and the paralysed man pressed this holy icon of the Mother of God to his face, his eyes and his lips, with faith, and at that very moment he became sound, as if he had never been infirm. This was heard by all who lived thereabout, and very many people flocked thither, bringing their sick and the diseased, and all were cured. Many people from all directions began to journey thither, leading their ill and infirm, and they were cured and there were innumerable miracles. Luka was honored by all, who regarded him as their prophet or apostle, and they respected and honored him.

Then Luka went with this icon from Kolocha to the city of Mozhaisk. As he approached the city there came out from it to meet him Prince Andrei Dmitrievich with his boyars and all the city, from the grown to the small, even those still at the breast. There were many portents and numerous miracles because of this icon of the Mother of God.

From thence Luka journeyed with this icon to Moscow, and there the icon was met by a procession with the Metropolitan, bishops, the entire sacred council, with princes and princesses, with their children, boyars, voevodas and all the lords, and with a great multitude of Orthodox Christians. There were a numberless mul-

titude of miracles. The blind began to see, the lame started to walk, **1413**
the paralysed arose, the dumb spoke, the deaf heard; and whatsoever was their infirmity, each and every one became healed. And why should we speak at such length, for the mind of man is unable to express the multitude of multitudes, the numberless, unspeakable miracles?

Luka travelled from city to city with his icon of the Mother of God and everywhere there was an uncountable and unspeakable multitude upon multitude of miracles because of this icon of the Mother of God. Everyone—princes, boyars, and all Orthodox Christians—gave Luka much wealth as alms to honor him with their presents. They received Luka as if he were an apostle. Luka, however, was just an ordinary man, one of the poorest villagers. Nevertheless, he was a man of lawful virtue and he returned to his original place, to Kolocha, together with the wonderworking icon and with great wealth, and he amassed an endless fortune.

Luka built a dwelling place for himself as if he were a certain prince, with fair and large chambers, and he assembled a great number of servants: he had many pages to serve and attend him; he had beautiful vessels, and on his table were much rich and costly food and fragrant drink. He ate and drank with all his servants and he went hunting with falcons and gyrfalcons. He had many dogs and bears to entertain him. There were many miracles at the icon of the Mother of God, which Luka placed in a church which he, himself, built, where now the monastery of Kolocha is located. Many people afflicted with divers maladies go thither and are healed. Finally, Luka became vain and shameless. When the hunters of Prince Andrei Vladimirovich went hunting with gyrfalcons and falcons on the order of Prince Andrei Vladimirovich, then he would beat and rob the hunters and would take their gyrfalcons and falcons; and this occurred not once but many times. Prince Andrei Dmitrievich abode this with humility and patience and did not mention it. So Luka would beat and rob the hunters of Prince Andrei and would take from them the bears and even their chests of valuables.[42] Then he would make merry with them.

Among the hunters of Prince Andrei Dmitrievich there was a cruel man: he bided his time, caught a very evil and ferocious bear,

42. *Lar'*: chests of valuables.

1414 and ordered that it be taken to the vicinity of Luka's dwelling. Luka caught sight of it from his mansion, went up to the bear with his servants and ordered Prince Andrei's hunter to release it in his yard. Prince Andrei's hunter played his trick on Luka and at once let the bear go while Luka was still there. And so this bear went up to Luka and they were hardly able to pull Luka away from the bear: he was barely breathing through his nose. Forthwith Prince Andrei Dmitrievich hurried to Luka. Seeing that Luka was in the last ebb of life, he asked him, "Why did you care for devilish entertainment, and dance and revel? Lord God glorified you with the miraculous icon of His Mother Theotokos, but you did not care for it and you turned to a vain, wordly life. And so this befell you." Luka wept, shed tears and implored the prince to help him. Grand Prince Andrei Dmitrievich used Luka's vast and endless property to construct a monastery on that place, which was dedicated to the Name of the Most Pure Theotokos and was called the Monastery of Kolocha: there he placed the miraculous icon of the Mother of God, and to this day there are still miracles for those who come thither in faith. And Luka was tonsured there, resided in the monastery several years in spiritual emotion and tears until he passed to God.

The same year the entire city of Tver' burned.

In the year 6922/1414. On the third day of the month of September there was a portent in the skies.

[EFFORTS OF VITOVT OF LITHUANIA TO BREAK AWAY FROM THE METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW]

The same fall some unblessed people rose up against Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia [that is, of Moscow], and they calumniated him before his spiritual son, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich; also, the same persons calumniated the Grand Prince to Metropolitan Photius, and thus created discord between them. Thereupon they calumniated Metropolitan Photius to Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, telling him, "From the very beginning, the metropolitans of all Russia had their See in Kiev, and there from this Metropolitan See they presided over all Russia. Then, however, Kiev fell into disregard, and everything was removed from it and taken to Moscow. Even now Metropolitan Photius takes the ecclesiastic treasure and vessels to Moscow, and

he has completely ruined Kiev and its region with very heavy taxes and large, unbearable fees."[43] **1414**

Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania assembled the bishops of his region: Isaac of Chernigov, Theodosius of Polotsk; Dionysius of Lutsk; Gerassimus of Vladimir [and Volynia]; John of Galich; Sebastian of Smolensk; Chariton of Kholm; Paul of Cherven'; and Euthymius of Turov. He told them,

"Are you aware of what Metropoltian Photius is doing? He has exhausted and robbed the Metropolitan church of Kiev, the original Metropolitan See, which is the glory and honor of all Russia, and he is taxing everything for Moscow! You should elect and invest a Metropolitan in Kiev so that the old way be observed and the original Metropolitan See of Kiev not be ruined. Then we will have no cause to be perplexed or sorrowful about it."

The bishops became confused, and did not know how to respond. Then Vitovt commanded them to write him a complaint concerning Photius, saying:

"You have heard from me how he robs and ruins the great cathedral of the Metropolitan See of Kiev, the head of all Russia."[44]

The bishops were unwilling to act in such a manner against their spiritual father and lord, Metropolitan Photius; but Vitovt,

43. Actually, all the church treasures were sacked during the Tatar invasion and taking of Kiev in 1240. This invasion and the settlement of the Nogai Horde throughout the prairie north of the Black Sea led to the considerable depopulation of the city and its region. In 1245–1246 Piano Carpini found no more than two hundred inhabitants dwelling there. (*Istoriia Kieva*, Kiev, 1963, V. I, p. 48.) The Metropolitans preferred to spend most of their time in northern Russia, better protected from the Tatars, and in the late thirteenth century they transferred their residence to Vladimir. From there they moved to Moscow in 1328, from where they would visit Kiev and the other west Russian lands seized by the Lithuanian prince. (In 1416 the Tatars again took Kiev and sacked it.) Vitovt and Iagailo were converted to Roman Catholicism from paganism. Supported and influenced by the Catholic Church, the separation of western Russian Orthodoxy from Moscow was the first step toward union with Rome. Some twenty-five years later, in Florence, Rome achieved union with Constantinople.

44. The Cathedral See of Kiev, St. Sophia, was burned out during the Tatar invasion of 1290. It was restored only in the late seventeenth century. Metropolitan Photius, however, did actually level excessive church taxes and fees, of which one part was sent to Constantinople.

1414 aware of his power, forced them to do so, and although unwilling to write, they said, nonetheless,

"We are very sorry and perplexed about the condition of the great church of Kiev because we see that it is now devastated and despised by Metropolitan Photius of Moscow. Christ's flock is unattended and is perishing. For this reason we are greatly saddened and grieved, like unto sheep without a shepherd. Indeed, he has the rank and name of shepherd and teacher [of Kiev] but he does not behave accordingly. Nor does he want to see Kiev as the mother and head of the conciliar Metropolitan church of all Russia, which was entrusted to him by God and by the Patriarch according to the sacred rules; nor is he willing to rule over the people of God as they are supposed to be by the Metropolitan. He only collects the ecclesiastic benefits and income, all manner of valuables, old possessions and valuable objects. All this, as well as the honor of the great Kievan church, he has transferred to another place of residence, to the city which is called Moscow. At the present time the Kievan church, the See of the Metropolitan, is abandoned, while we can only sorrow and grieve over the great conciliar church of Kiev and the people of God. For the sake of God, try to lend us your helpful hand."

Hearing this, Vitovt rejoiced greatly because he achieved what he sought, and he commanded that a survey be made [of the possessions] of the Kievan church [region] and an exact inventory be prepared of it. He also commanded that the towns, lands and villages which belonged to the Metropolia be surveyed. Then Metropolitan Photius in Moscow received word from Kiev concerning the calumny fabricated against him because evil people, including some of his own, fled from Photius, from Moscow, and went to the lord bishop of Chernigov, from whence they escaped to Lithuania, to Vitovt. In such a way they succeeded in inciting a quarrel between him and Vitovt, which resulted in a great struggle, and confusion and uproar spread throughout the holy divine church.

Then Photius decided to go to Constantinople because he learned that Vitovt wished to obtain another Metropolitan for the Metropolitan See of Kiev. First, he intended to go to Kiev to learn the truth and to make peace with Vitovt if such were possible. If it were not, then he would go from Kiev to the Patriarch of Constantinople in order that the latter should forbid Vitovt from placing another Metropolitan in Kiev. So he went from Moscow to Kiev;

but upon arriving at the Lithuanian border he was caught by Vitovt, **1414**
who did not allow him to proceed to Constantinople, to the Patriarch, but he robbed him and forced him to return to Moscow. In the meantime, he distributed among his lords the cities, lands and villages which belonged to the great Metropolitan conciliar church of Kiev, robbed Metropolitan Photius' administrators and sent them to Moscow.

The same year the city of Moscow burned: a fire resembling a cloud issued out of Photius' chamber and burned Sava Avraamiev, one of the calumniators who calumniated Metropolitan Photius. It burned him alive.

The same year on the seventh day of June, Friday, it was so dark before the Eucharist that it was possible to see all the stars as if it were night. This lasted not long, however—about an hour or so. At that time a merchant with his wares came from Lithuania and threw himself at the feet of Metropolitan Photius, saying,

"Christ's Bishop! Forgive me! A few days ago the city of Moscow burned and all my vast wealth also burned, and I grieved greatly and was very sad. Now, darkness has come and I am seized by fear and trembling. All my insides shake and all my members pain me: now you behold me in great misfortune. I realize now how much I sinned against you because I went to Lithuania with the calumniators who calumniated against you and I, myself, spoke bad words about you. Then I came hither to Moscow, where I also spoke bad words. I have sinned before God, forgive me, Christ's Bishop!"

Photius was very astonished about this man, forgave him and blessed him, ordering him to pray to Christ, His Lord, for the forgiveness of his sins and to do so with a good mind and humble heart, and then to fast and to distribute alms. When this man had done thus he recovered by the grace of God, and his name was Foma Lazarev.

The same year Vitovt Keistutovich gathered the bishops of his region and told them, "Elect whomsoever you wish to be Metropolitan in Kiev, and then journey to Constantinople, to the Patriarch, so that he be invested by him to be Metropolitan of Kiev." And they elected Gregory Tsamblak, a Bulgarian by birth. Some bishops, however, did not want this and said, "It is better to make peace with Photius." Vitovt, though, having the power, forced them and they remained silent. Then Vitovt sent many complaints about Metropolitan Photius to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and he also

1415 sent Gregory Tsamblak to be invested Metropolitan of Kiev. He said, "Otherwise, it will not be possible to be rid of Photius' violence, unless another Metropolitan is invested for Kiev." And he sent missives to the Emperor. The Emperor and the Patriarch, however, were unwilling to listen to all this. Then Vitovt ordered his bishops to write about Metropolitan Photius' guilt and to send missives to Constantinople, to the Emperor and to the Patriarch, asking them to invest Gregory Tsamblak as Metropolitan. The Emperor and Patriarch, however, did not want to do that.

[End of the Issue between Vitovt and Photius]

The same year the people of Novgorod sent Vitovt a petition suing for peace; Vitovt forgot his discontent with them and made peace with them as of old. They did not make any pledge on the cross to the Germans[45] nor did Vitovt make peace with the Germans. The same year Vitovt fought the Germans and caused much evil in their land.

The same year the stone church of the Most Pure Theotokos burned in Novgorod the Great in the section of Derevianitsa, and three people burned therein. The same year a plague causing bone disease broke out among Christians throughout the Russian land.

The same year the Nerev section of Novgorod burned, from the church of St. Vladimir to Gzenia: altogether, eight stone and five wooden churches burned. The same year there was a great drought and powerful, fearful thunderstorms.

In the September year 6923/1415. Many Tatars came and fought along the river Don in the land of Riazan'; they caused much evil and captured the city of Elets, and killed the prince of Elets. Some people, however, fled to Riazan'; after campaigning widely, the Tatars returned home with many captives and much wealth.

The same fall the city of Moscow burned.

The same fall the construction of the stone church of St. Euphemia was completed in Novgorod. The same fall on the fifteenth day of November Lord John, Archbishop of Novgorod, was tonsured to the great angelic order of *schema*. On the twentieth day of January he forsook the See of the Archbishop, having been on the archepiscopal See of Novgorod for thirty years less three.

The same winter Prince Iaroslav Vladimirovich, grandson of

45. That is, to the Knights of the Livonian Order.

Andrei, great grandson of Ivan, gr. gr. grandson of Ivan, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Danilo of Moscow, transferred his allegiance to Lithuania. **1415**

[BIRTH OF PRINCE VASILII, FUTURE GRAND PRINCE VASILII II, "THE DARK," OF MOSCOW]

The same winter during Lent the Novgorodian posadnik, Kyril Dmitrievich, passed away. The same spring during Lent, on the tenth day of the month of March, after *Nephimon,*[46] a son, Vasilii, was born to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. The following occurred at his birth: the very same day when he was to be born his mother fell gravely ill, and she seemed to be dying. The Grand Prince was in great grief over this; but at that time there was a holy elder in the monastery of St. John the Precursor, which is located near the forest beyond the river Moskva. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich knew this elder and so the Grand Prince sent to him, asking that he pray for his Princess.

The elder responded to the envoy, "Go and tell the Grand Prince that he should pray to Lord God and His Most Pure Mother Theotokos, as well as to the great martyr Loginus the Centurion. The latter was given as God's protector to all your clan to care for all those who are in need. And do not grieve concerning your Princess: she will recover her health and will the same evening bear a son who will be your heir." And so it happened.

When he was born, at that very hour someone came and knocked at the door of the priest-confessor of the Grand Prince, who was sitting in his cell in the monastery of the Transfiguration of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and he said, "Go and tell the Grand Prince to name him Vasilii." He arose, took all he required and departed from his cell; but not seeing any envoy, he wondered and thought that the man who had summoned him had already left. He went to the Prince's court and was met by a man who had been sent to him. The envoy told him to go [to the palace] and to [baptise] and name the newly born son of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich.

The priest asked him whether it was he who had come to him earlier but the other responded, "No." And so the priest went and

46. *Nephimon:* the word is unclear; probably, a corrupted transliteration for vespers, or some other evening church service. (Greek: *Methimon.*)

1416 named the youth Vasilii, as he was told earlier. Thereupon he inquired of many people who had been sent for him earlier and who was the person who had come to him and called him; but he found none who had done this. The priest was very astonished at this and related it to the Grand Prince, the Grand Princess and to many others, also, and all were astonished.

The same spring during Holy Week in November the water in the Volkhov and many other rivers flowed in the opposite direction.[47]

The same spring the city of Smolensk burned.

The same spring the city of Moscow burned.

The same year on the seventh day of the month of June there was a portent on the sun, which was covered by a green shadow. Soon thereafter the shadow looked like blood and people could not see each other, and it seemed that they were standing in blood.

The same year posadnik Feodosii of Novgorod passed away, being tonsured monk. The same year a stone church of the Most Holy Trinity was built in the monastery at Vidogoshcha. The same year the people of Novgorod summoned the *veché* in Iaroslav's court and then the entire *veché* went to the church of Holy Sophia, casting three lots on the altar, on each of which was written one of the following three names: the first, of monk Samson of the Holy Saviour at Khutyn; the second, of Michael, abbot of the monastery of St. Michael at Skovorodka; the third, of abbot Leo of the monastery of the Most Pure Theotokos in Kolmov. The lot fell to Samson and the Novgorodians bore him in joy and honor to the court of the Archbishop. This happened on the eleventh day of the month of August, a Sunday, when the holy martyr, Eulampius the Deacon, is remembered. In the same month of August a church was consecrated in the Carpenters' Section on Krasnyi [Beautiful] Hill; it was dedicated to the Holy Resurrection of Christ, and a communal monastery was organized.

In the month of September of the year 6924/1416. Two stone churches were built in Novgorod in the Liudin section: one of the Holy Elevation of the Cross and one of St. Luke.

47. This has been a frequent occurrence in Novgorod because the course of the Volkhov river is very flat.

1416

[VITOVT FORCES THE BISHOPS OF THE WEST RUSSIAN CHURCH TO BREAK AWAY FROM THE METROPOLITAN OF ALL RUSSIA]

The same fall [6923/1415 in *Novg.*] God permitting and because of our sins, the Metropolia of Kiev became divided into two regions. This was not supposed to happen because it is said in the holy rules that there should not be two Metropolitans within the confines of one single Metropolia.

Vitovt Keistutovich, Grand Prince of Lithuania, however, summoned the Orthodox bishops of his [West Russian] lands. They were Isaak of Chernigov, Theodosius of Polotsk; Dionysius of Lutsk; Gerasimus of Vladimir [in Volynia]; John of Galich; Sebastian of Smolensk; Chariton of Kholm; Paul of Cherven'; Euthymius of Turov. And he told them, "I want you to elect Gregory Tsamblak, a Bulgarian, to be Metropolitan of Kiev."

Those, however, were unwilling to do thus, fearing God and [respecting] the holy and divine rules of the covenant. Speaking for the entire Council, they told Vitovt, "We are afraid of God and His holy rules of the covenant to do according to your command."

And he told them, "What is in the so-called covenant? Show it to me." And they said, "It is written in the twentieth chapter of the first part of the holy rules, as well as in the twelfth chapter of the Decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, that there are not supposed to be two Metropolitans within the confines of one single Metropolia."

But Vitovt told them, "Are you aware that Kiev and the entire Kievan land are within the confines of my land?"

But the bishops told him, "Originally, it was not your region."

And he answered them, "But now it is my region and you must elect and invest a Metropolitan in Kiev."

The bishops told him, "Although you have now taken over the region of Kiev and it is entirely under your earthly power, you do not have the ecclesiastic Apostolic power. The ecclesiastic Apostolic power and Caesar's earthly power are different and separate. You rule your earthly realm in the way of a Tsar' but the Bishop rules over ecclesiastic problems in his own realm, having episcopal power. In all the Russian land there is only one Metropolitan, who, because of the Tatar invasion, now resides in Moscow although he is Metropolitan of Kiev. He is the only one in the region of the Metropolia which is called and glorified as the Kievan Metropolia, and there is no offense or any loss due to that; and since the ancient tradition

1416 and laws have been preserved, it results only in praise and benefit for us."

But he responded, "In the case you do not invest a Metropolitan in my land of Kiev, you will die an evil death."

And so the aforementioned bishops, acting together and under duress, elected Gregory Tsamblak, the Bulgarian, to be Metropolitan of Kiev, and this happened on the fifteenth day of the month of November. Vitovt commanded them to write an explanatory message and they, being forced by Vitovt, assembled with Metropolitan Gregory, whom they elected, themselves, and wrote an explanatory word which read,

"Everything which is given and all gifts are blessed provided they come from the Light of the Father. When it comes to us, humble ones, we adhere to this gift, which is a gift of consolation because of the great sorrow which we have had; therefore, let us find consolation in the following way about the conditions in our mother, the Russian Metropolia. We, humble bishops of the Russian lands, lovers of Orthodoxy, friends and brethren in the Holy Spirit: humble Archbishop Theodosius of Polotsk of the Metropolia of Kiev; humble Bishop Isaak of Chernigov; humble Bishop Dionysius of Lutsk; humble Bishop Gerasimus of Vladimir; humble Bishop Sebastian of Smolensk; humble Bishop Khariton of Kholm; and humble Bishop Euthymius of Turov: seeing the abandoned church of Kiev, which is neglected by Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev, who is the head of all Russia; and seeing Chirst's flock unprotected and perishing, we, for this reason being saddened over it and being greatly grieved, just as a sheep mourns without a shepherd, our own Metropolitan [is such] only in name but in his deeds he is not our shepherd and teacher because he does not want to care for the church of Kiev given him by God and the Patriarch. Nor is he willing to rule the people of God in the way a Metropolitan should rule; but he cares only for the benefits and income of the Church, and for all the valuables which he gathers; and he carries away these valuables of the ancient institutions, as well as the honor of the Church of Kiev, to a different place, where he resides. We grieve over the conditions of the Church and the people of God.

"In the meantime, Merciful God has suggested to Grand Prince Aleksandr, also called Vitovt,[48] ruler of the Lithuanian and many

48. Vitovt was baptised and christened Alexander after he embraced Roman Catholicism. Previously, he was a pagan.

Russian lands, to cast out this Metropolitan Photius and to send to the Emperor of Constantinople and to the Patriarch asking them to provide him a Metropolitan who would act for the salvation of the people of God and would be worthy of appointment to this Church. The Emperor and the Patriarch were unwilling to heed this righteous petition because they shared between them unrighteous benefits. **1416**

"And so he, [Vitovt,] being our legitimate and true ruler and Grand Prince, together with us, the bishops, verily held council and summoned all the princes of the Lithuanian and [West] Russian lands, and of other lands which are part of our church, as well as boyars, lords, archimandrites, abbots, pious monks and priests [of all these lands]. In accord with the will of this assemblage, as well as with the will of the council of us bishops, and being assembled in Novogrudek in Lithuania in the Holy Church of the Most Pure Theotokos, we, thanks to the grace of God which we received from the Holy Spirit, have elected a certain Gregory [Tsamblak, the Bulgarian] to be Metropolitan of the Holy Church of Kiev and all Russia. And we have done so according to the tradition of the Holy Apostles and the God-fearing Fathers. We removed and cast out this Photius from the See of the Metropolia of Kiev.

"Then we sent a message to Constantinople, to the Emperor and to the Patriarch, complaining of Photius and exhibiting all his deeds and his devastation of the church of the Metropolia of Kiev; and we requested them, Emperor and Patriarch, to appoint Gregory [Tsamblak] to be Metropolitan of the Kievan Metropolia. They—the Emperor and the Patriarch—however, did not act accordingly. Nonetheless, we have had witting about them that they wish to appoint a Metropolitan according to their own volition and only after receiving a bribe: in such a way, whosoever gives the greater bribe which they desire will be appointed [Metropolitan].

"They want everything to be in their power and that their Metropolitan of Russia, robbing, resorting to violence, selling ordinations to the priesthood, accepting bribes, collecting heavy fees, emptying the church, would send everything to Constantinople and transmit it all to them. For this reason we have summoned all the bishops within the confines of our [Metropolitan] region and our land. Having taken counsel with our bishops, archimandrites and abbots, we consulted them concerning the situation and told them the following:

1416 "'What are we supposed to do since the Emperor and Patriarch are unwilling to give us such a Metropolitan who would reside in Kiev and would care for this divine church and build it? Since, by God's will, we are in possession of the See of Kiev and since the city of Kiev is the mother of all Russian cities, and this conciliar Church of Kiev is the mother of all churches of Russia, and taking into consideration how sad and sorrowful everything is, [we ask you what should be done].' And they, the Christians of our land, said, 'Our ruler, Vitovt, is not of our faith and he will not care for the divine church. For this reason the church has become devastated and impoverished.'

"Since, however, we have had no other word from the people while the conditions in the Metropolia are obvious, and because of him [Photius] the church is being robbed, devastated and disrupted [we consulted the bishops]. And the bishops responded to us, saying, 'Yes, it is so, and it is not the first time that we hear and behold how the churches are abandoned and impoverished, and that the Emperor and Patriarch are not inclined to give us a good builder of the divine church.

"But, according to the holy rules the bishops are empowered to elect a Metropolitan, as was done before in Russia: it is written in the holy rules that two or three bishops invest a Metropolitan in the same way as in the former time, during the reign of Grand Prince Iz'iaslav of Kiev, [when] the bishops, themselves, according to the rules, invested Clement to be Metropolitan.[49]

"And also the Bulgarians, who were Christianized before us and who in baptism are our brethren and kin, dealt likewise according to the rules when their bishops invested their ruling primate. And also the bishops of the Serbian tongue similarly reasoned ac-

49. On July 27, 1147, the bishops of Russia assembled in Kiev and elected and consecrated Clement Smoliatich, an erudite monk of the Zarubskii monastery in Chernigov, to be Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. Prince Iz'iaslav Mstislavovich sought to be rid of Metropolitan Michael, a Greek, who was too obedient to Constantinople and was at that time in Byzantium—where, most probably, he died. (Kartashov Vol. I, pp. 171–172.) Clement was not recognized by the Patriarch and, being a supporter of Iz'iaslav, had on several occasions to leave Kiev during wars between Iz'iaslav and the latter's brother, Rostislav, against Iurii Dolgorukii. Clement passed away in 1159 in Chernigov. Dolgorukii supported Niphont, Constantinople's candidate.

cording to the rules of the Covenant of the Apostles when their bishops invested their ruling primate. And so now, with God's help, this ruling bishop of the Serbian land has many bishops under him. The Serbian land, however, is not the same in size or majesty or extent as the Russian land, which is within the dominion of Grand Prince Aleksandr, also called Vitovt. Indeed, the Serbian land is small as far as inhabitants and lands are concerned. **1416**

"But why should we speak of Serbs and Bulgarians?

"It was established by the Holy Apostles that the grace of the Holy Spirit acts in the same way among all Orthodox bishops. And Holy Apostles, themselves, were invested by Our Saviour, Christ, and they invested other bishops and these other bishops invested the subsequent generations of bishops. And so, from generation to generation the grace of the Holy Spirit has reached even us, humble bishops.

"According to this grace, we are the bearers of power [within our church], being the pupils of the Apostles. After consulting all the rules we assembled in council in order to invest and elect a righteous shepherd, teacher and ruling primate of our fatherland, whosoever will be given and selected by God. We received this power from God and we will be responsible in the heavens for our decision on the earth. And what we permit on earth will be permitted.

"It is not in the way as some view and say, 'They broke away [from the Patriarch and Emperor], themselves electing a Metropolitan.' We did not break away and those who claim thus are unwise.

"We piously observe the church traditions of the Holy Apostles and Holy Fathers; we confess the faith of the Apostles and of the Fathers; we anathematize all heresies and all heretical lies, their dissension and their councils because God is not with them. We anathematize the Simonian heresy[50] which permits the gift of the Holy Spirit to be sold for gold and silver and that ordination into the priesthood may be obtained for payments and bribes. We accept the authority of the Holy Patriarch of Constantinople and the Pat-

50. Simonian heresy: also called "Simony," it was a practice in the western and eastern churches of selling or buying preferment in the church. The term derived from Simon Magus (the Magician), a Jewish sectarian and one of the founders of Gnosticism. He offered Apostle Peter money so as to receive from him consecration and power to perform miracles, but was rejected by the Apostle. (Acts 8.9–24).

1416 riarchs of Alexandria, Antiochia and Jersualem as our true patriarchs and Fathers, as well as [the authority] of the Metropolitans and bishops who are our brothers in the Holy Spirit. In agreement with them, we profess the true, holy faith which is [formulated] in "I believe in one God. . ." We confess, believe, teach and profess the same faith as they. We can not abide, however—because we are unable to tolerate it—arbitrary manipulation of the divine church by the Emperor of Constantinople because the holy, great Patriarch and the divine, holy Council of Constantinople are unable to provide us with a [dutiful] Metropolitan. They only invest those who are imposed upon them by the Emperor, who receives the bribes. Alas! In our days the investment of the Russian Metropolitans, the gift of the Holy Spirit, is sold and bought there in the same fashion as during the reign of the father of the present emperor, who used to practice it in the church of Kiev during our days. This was the case when Cyprian, Pimen, Dionysius and many others became Metropolitans of the Russian Church of Kiev without consideration of the church's honor and administration but for promises of bribes of silver, gold and great advantages.[51] This has resulted in great debts, high fees, gossip, confusion, disturbances and murder; and, what is worse, in the dishonor of the church of the Russian Metropolia. After having considered, studied and contemplated, we have come to the conclusion that it would be wrong for us to accept from thence—from Constantinople—such Metropolitans who have been invested only by the emperor, who is a layman, but neither in agreement with the Patriarch's will nor with the rules of the Apostles and Fathers.

"Thus, thanks to the grace given us by the Holy Spirit, in the year of the Indiction 6924/1416[52] all of us bishops have assembled and have elected Gregory, a deserving primate of the Metropolia of the Russian church."

[In the year 6925/1417 according to Sof. and Vozn.] Receiving these tidings, Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, became greatly indignant. He deliberated at length how to restore unity to

51. The Metropolitans mentioned here were invested in the years 1370 and 1380 when three Metropolitans were invested almost simultaneously as head of the church of Kiev and all Russia.

52. In the year 6925/1417 according to *Sof.* and *Vozn.*

the divided and rent Church because from its very beginning there was one single authority, one single Metropolitan, over all the bishops in the entire Russian land. He wrote epistles and sent them to Kiev, to the princes, boyars and to all Christians, in which he wrote, **1416**

"By his endless machinations Vitovt broke the unity of the church and partitioned the indivisible Church of Kiev and all Russia. He did so neither by means of an inquiry by the Council; nor by following the holy rules of the Church; nor by a decision of the Patriarch of Constantinople, [whose authority] he recognized earlier; nor in agreement with the Church tradition. He did this arbitrarily, of his own volition, in the shadows and darkness, using his earthly power. He forced the bishops to elect another Metropolitan in the indivisible Metropolia of Kiev, which is not permitted by canonic laws, which outlaw and reject [such action]. For these reasons we, too, do not accept it, but condemn the division of the single and indivisible Metropolia of Kiev into two parts. We appeal to you not to accept such arbitrary and lawless division of the Church because there are not supposed to be two Metropolitans in one single ecclesiastic region. May the mercy of God and our blessing be with all of you. Amen."

The same winter[53] on the twenty-third day of the month of February, Sunday of Shrovetide, Samson [Archbishop-elect] journeyed from Novgorod to Moscow, to Metropolitan Photius, for the purpose of his consecration. With him were the Novgorodian posadnik, Vasilii Avvakumovich, and tysiatskiis Vasilii Osipovich and Aleksandr Ignatievich. They arrived in Moscow on the ninth day of March, the Sunday after the Council.[54]

On the twelfth day of the same month of March a certain man was cured in the cathedral church of the Assumption of the Most

53. In the year 6923/1415, according to *Novg.* and *Sof.* because in Novgorod they still used the "March Calendar."

54. "Sunday of the Council" is now a colloquialism. It is the Sunday of Orthodoxy, the first Sunday of Lent, when the Forty Martyrs are remembered. Shrovetide Sunday came in the 6922 September year and in the 6923 March year on the 22nd, not the 23rd, of February. *Novg.* and *Avraamka.* This happened in 6623/1415, according to *Late Musc.* March 9, 6924, was a Monday, not Sunday. See *Novg.*

1416 Pure Theotokos in Moscow, while he was at the grave of the holy wonderworker Peter. He had a crippled leg but on that day he prostrated himself [at the grave] and returned home in good health, rejoicing and thanking God, His Most Pure Mother Theotokos and holy Peter, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia. On the fifteenth day of the same month of March, the second Sunday of Lent, a nun who had withered and crippled arms was cured at the grave of St. Peter.

The same day on the second Sunday of Lent His Holiness Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, ordained Samson deacon and on Saturday of the third week of the same month, March twenty-first, he ordained him priest. On the Sunday of the Veneration of the Cross, March twenty-second, he consecrated Samson bishop of Novgorod and Pskov. This occurred in the church of St. Archangel Michael, and in place of "Samson," he received the name, "Simeon." There were five bishops present during the consecration: first, Gregory of Rostov; second, Metrophanes of Suzdal'; third, Anthony of Tver'; fourth, Timotheus of Sarai; fifth, Isaak of Perm'; as well as Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich and his brothers, Iurii and Konstantin. He, Simeon, arrived in Novgorod on the sixteenth day of April, Maundy Thursday, and was met by a procession with crosses of the entire Holy Council of Great Novgorod, by posadnik Ivan Bogdanovich, tysiatskii Boris Vasilievich and a great multitude of people; and everyone rejoiced over their bishop. He entered the church of Holy Sophia, celebrated the liturgy and ascended to the sacred throne of the Archbishop, given him by God, and there was great joy in all Novgorod. The same night Naum, the leading member of the clergy of Holy Sophia, passed away.

The same year the Tatars campaigned around Kiev and sacked and burned the Monastery of the Caves.

The same year the princes of Nizhnii Novgorod, Grand Prince Ivan Vasilievich, grandson of Dmitrii, and Prince Ivan Borisovich came to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich of Moscow. His [Ivan Vasilievich's] son, Prince Aleksandr, had gone thither two years before.

The same year the foundation of the fortress of Kostroma was laid.

The same year [6925/1417, according to *Tver'*.] on the third day of the month of May Gregory, Archbishop of Rostov, passed

away. He occupied the Archepiscopal See of Rostov for twenty-one **1417**
years, observing the canons of the Church and teaching the people the word of God. He was the second Archbishop of Rostov: earlier, there were only bishops in Rostov, not archbishops.

The same year [6925/1417, according to *Tver'*.] in the month of August the Tatars fought in Lithuania and returned home with a large number of captives.

In the September year 6925/1417. There was a great disturbance and fratricidal feuding among the emperors, princes and boyars of Constantinople.[55]

The same fall posadnik Iurii Ontsiforovich of Novgorod passed away in September in Novgorod, having been in his office for one year, three months and ten days. The same fall in September [*In the year 6924/1416 in Novg.*] two stone churches were built in Novgorod, thanks to the zeal of Archbishop Simeon of Novgorod: the first was a church dedicated to Wonderworker Peter, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia; the second, to St. Athanasius. They were erected at the behest of the Novgorodian Bishop Simeon. The same year many people died of cold because the winter was extremely severe.

The same winter Grand Prince Ivan Vasilievich of Nizhnii Novgorod, grandson of Dimitrii, passed away during his journey from Kolomna. He was buried in Moscow in the church of the Holy Archangel Michael. The same year Prince Danilo Borisovich of Nizhnii Novgorod journeyed to Moscow to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich.

The same year on the tenth day of the month of June the church of St. Eupatius in Rogatitsa[56] was struck by a terrifying bolt of lightning. Many icons fell to the ground and a great many people took fright.

On the twenty-fourth day of the same month of June [*In the year 6924/1416 in Novg.*] John, the former Bishop of Novgorod,

55. Apparently, the chronicler is referring here not only to Constantinople but to the general situation in the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. Manuel II Paleologue, 1391–1425, clashed with the Greek and Italian lords of Morea (Peloponnesus), but the struggle among the sons of Bayazed—Mahomet, Isa, Soliman and Musa—as well as among the last Turkic independent rulers of Asia Minor, was of much greater proportion. Vasiliev II, 622–635; Bréhier, 390–391.

56. In Novgorod, *Novg.*

1417 passed away and was buried in the chapel of the Monastery of the Holy Resurrection in Derevianitsa.

[FREEBOOTERS RAID ZAVOLOCH'E][57]

The same year Gleb Semionovich, boyar of Prince Iurii Dmitrievich,[58] together with the Novgorodian freebooters, went stealthily by boats and campaigned throughout all the land of the Dvina and the land beyond the Volok, as well as in the land of Kholmogory. They burned the town of Emets and captured Borok, [the domain of] the children of Ivan Vasilievich, as well as the Novgorodian boyars, Iurii Ivanovich and his brother, Samson. But Ivan Fedorovich, a Novgorodian boyar, with his brother, Afanasii, with Gavriilo Kirilovich and with Isak Andreevich, caught up with them on the island near Morzh, liberated their brothers, Iurii and Samson, as well as all the captives, and took away all their booty; showing them mercy, they let them go. Proceeding further, however, they [the freebooters] campaigned in that region; and so Vasilii Iurievich, son of the Novgorodian posadnik, Samson Ivanovich, as well as Gavrilo Kirilovich and his brother, Grigorii Kirilovich, assembled the people of the Volok region, pursued them, captured some, while some others escaped, and killed some. Then the Novgorodians, with the people from the Volok region, marched toward Ustiug, campaigned there, took Ustiug and burned it.

The same year Novgorod made peace with the Germans [of the Livonian Order of Knights]. This occurred during the office of posadnik Semion Vasilievich and tysiatskii Koz'ma Terentievich.

[THE FEARFUL PLAGUE]

The same year there was a fearful plague in Great Novgorod, in Pskov, in Ladoga, in Rusa, in Porkhov, in Torzhok, in Tver' and in Dmitrov, as well as in their lands and towns. The plague was so violent that the living could not succeed in burying the dead, nor were there sufficient healthy people to care for the ill. And so one healthy man would serve ten and twenty sick ones. In all places so many people died every day that the healthy ones were unable to

57. Zavoloch'e: the land around the portages of the northern Dvina river and north of the Sukhona and Vychegda rivers.

58. Iurii Dmitrievich was the brother of Grand Prince of Moscow, Vasilii Dmitrievich.

bury the dead before sunset; many towns were emptied and in the **1418**
cities and suburbs there were sometimes scarcely a living person or child. The scythe would mow a man down like a stalk, and large, wealthy homesteads were empty. In many there remained hardly one or two persons, and in some just a child. This disease was as follows: one would feel as if he had been struck by a lance in his shoulderblades or in his heart or in the chest or in his shoulders or in the crotch or below the belt. The ill person would spit blood and burn with fever, then he would sweat and then shake: the disease would enter all the person's members and all the glands would become infected, and some had infection in their necks, some in their thighs, some in their chests, some under their cheekbones, some between the shoulderblades, some in the crotch and in some other places. Falling ill, they would lie and would die: some died after repenting, some, after being shorn monks, departed this life. This happened because the Merciful God directed His wrath and fury, together with His mercy, against people: in Novgorod, in Pskov, in Torzhok, and in Tver' people made many pledges, and in one single day in several places churches were constructed and consecrated and the church services would start forthwith. People would promise to observe Christian laws, to abide in peace and love with their brethren and not to offend strangers. But man is weak and forgetful: only as long as God's wrath and fury descend upon him does he eschew his evil habits. When, however, God's mercy and grace descend upon people, they forget [their promises and repentance] and turn again to many evils, fight each other, kill, and appropriate that which does not belong to them. And then Merciful God, by starvation, plague, invasion of aliens, by cold, thunder, lightning, drought and by great rains forces his creatures to return to repentance because He still loves man and wants him to be saved.[59]

[TSAMBLAK AND VITOVT]

In the September year 6926/1418. Gregory Tsamblak, who was invested by Vitovt in Kiev,[60] addressed Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich: "Tell me, Prince, why are you of the Polish faith [that is, Roman Catholic] and not of the Greek [Orthodox] faith?" And

59. This was another outbreak of the Bubonic plague.
60. In the year 6925/1417 in *Novg.* and *Sof.*

1418 Vitovt responded, "If you want to see not only me but all my people of the Lithuanian land adhere to the Greek faith, then go to Rome and argue with the Pope and with his wise men. If you succeed in persuading them, then all of us will observe the Greek faith and customs. If you do not succeed in persuading them, then all of your people of the Greek faith must turn to the German [Roman] one." And he sent him to Rome, together with his lords.[61]

The same winter Prince Danilo Borisovich of Nizhnii Novgorod, together with his brother, Prince Ivan, escaped from Moscow, from Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich.

[PRINCE DASHKO OSTROZHSKII CAPTURES KREMENETS]

The same winter Prince Dashko, son of Prince Fedor Ostrozhskii, captured Vitovt's city of Kremenets by the following cunning way: on Maundy Thursday he sent forward two of his men, Dmitrii and Il'ia, telling them, "Claim that you are going thither to serve Kondrat Prus, voevoda of Kremenets. When you have entered the city, open the gates and lower the bridge."[62] They went to him [to Prus] and petitioned him to accept them into his service. He accepted them with love and then by evil cunning they secured his confidence. He was unaware of their duplicity, which never entered his mind. Sometime later Prince Dashko came to the city at night in Holy Week with five hundred men. And so his agents, whom he had sent forward to serve there, opened the gate and lowered the drawbridge. In such a way Prince Dashko Fedorovich entered the city with those who were with him, killed voevoda Kondrat Prus, slew the bailiffs of the King [of Poland] and of Vitovt, liberated Prince Svidrigailo from irons—he had been in prison there for eight and a half years. Svidrigailo went from thence to Hungary and on his way he took the town of Lutsk and captured one hundred fifty horses belonging to the Volynian boyars.[63]

61. Actually, Tsamblak went to attend the Council of Basel.

62. *Vozvod:* a part of the bridge over the castle moat.

63. Ostrozhskii, a West Russian prince, was a descendant of the reigning Russian dynasty and, probably, the most powerful lord of Lithuania. His tremendous domain extended over all the lands of Kiev, Volynia and Podolia. Kremenets was an important stronghold in Volynia.

[PORTENT IN NOVGOROD] 1419

The same year there was a portent in Novgorod. In the month of April, in the church of the Glorious Veil of the Most Pure Theotokos, something resembling blood issued from both sides of Her Icon. The same month of April this portent came true. A fratricidal feud arose in Novgorod and there was much bloodshed and murder there. Only with difficulty did Lord Bishop Simeon arrange peace among them.

The same year in the land of Viatka Mikhailo Rozsokhin killed a certain Anfal and his son, Nestor.

The same year on the twelfth day of the month of June Dionysius was consecrated Bishop of Rostov.

In the September year 6927/1419. Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak returned to Lithuania after having been in Rome and Constantinople.[64]

The same fall [in the year 6926/1418 in *Novg.*] Prince Andrei Dmitrievich of Tver' came to Novgorod and he was accepted by the people of Novgorod. And they made peace with the people of Pskov.

The same fall [in the year 6926/1418 in *Novg.*] the Novgorodian Archbishop Simeon, according to habit, during his visitation came to Pskov, where he sojourned a month.

SERMON OF ARCHBISHOP SIMEON OF NOVGOROD TO THE PEOPLE OF PSKOV

"Noble and Christ-loving, honorable men of Pskov! You, yourselves, are aware that when you render honor to your Bishop, you render it to Christ, Himself, and you receive much greater recompense from Him, and you inherit life eternal. And so, my sons, always render honor to your Bishop and to your spiritual fathers, the preceptors of your salvation, and do so with humility and love, not demanding anything from them or arguing about anything with your preceptors; but, rather, examine yourselves and judge yourselves. Weep over your sins, and when you are ill, seek your salvation. Do not appropriate that which does not belong to you, do not rejoice at the misfortunes and woes of your brethren, and do not make sophistications about yourselves or be proud. Humbly

64. In the year 6926/1418 in *Novg.* and *Vozn.*

1419 obey your spiritual fathers as befits Orthodox Christians living according to divine law. Do not offend or injure the church of God because it is invincible and nothing can harm it. And, children, do not interfere in ecclesiastical affairs or in anything decided from the beginning by the bishops, but do as it used to be under our brethren, the bishops of Novgorod, according to the true covenant of the divine house of the Holy Sophia. Do not interfere with [ecclesiastic] lands, waters, judgments or decisions and do not argue about church taxes. If you interfere in church affairs you will become separated from the church and you will destroy your souls, and you will not be able to expect for this fault any consolation according to the rules of the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers. Everyone should fear divine wrath, ask for His mercy, bewail one's own sins and not appropriate that which is not his."[65]

The same winter on Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich gave his daughter, Vasilisa, in marriage to Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich of Suzdal'.[66]

The same winter His Holiness, Metropoltian Photius, consecrated Ambrosius Bishop of Kolomna.[67]

[DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE SUCCESSION IN MOSCOW]

The same winter Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich wanted to place [at the head of the line of succession] his son, Vasilii, over his junior brother, Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich; but his brother, Konstantin Dmitrievich, disagreed with his will, saying, "Nothing similar has ever happened from the beginning, and why now do you impose your will on me?"[68] His brother, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, grew very angry with him and took away his patrimo-

65. This sermon was obviously directed against the Strigolniks' teaching which denied the validity of the consecration of bishops and ordination of priests, and which partially survived the persecution of the 1380's.

66. The Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee is the fourth Sunday of January.

67. In the year 6926/1418 in *Novg.*

68. This was a conflict between the old traditional line of succession from senior brother to junior brother, then to the senior nephew—and the new way, from father to son, which the princes of Moscow sought to introduce. The old system of succession was very complicated and contributed to a great extent to the internecine fights among the members of the reigning dynasty.

nial domains from him. And so the latter went to Novgorod the Great. The people of Novgorod on the twenty-fifth day of February, the day of the Great Council,[69] received him in honor, and Archbishop Simeon gave him his blessing. The Novgorodians granted him as apanage the same cities which used to be under Prince Semion-Lugven Olgerdovich of Lithuania. **1419**

The same winter in Kiev and in all countries there was a very fearful plague.

[END OF TSAMBLAK'S RULE]

The same winter Gregory Tsamblak the Bulgarian, Metropolitan of Kiev, who was highly erudite and who was well versed in all wisdom from his childhood, and who left extensive writings, passed away.[70]

[STORM IN NOVGOROD]

The same spring on the ninth of the month of April, Sunday, there was a strong storm and powerful tornado: a most fearful cloud with rain and unusually large hailstones moved in; it was so flooded everywhere that people feared a second flood; there was loud thunder and lightning struck. The earth shook, people fell dead; in some churches the icons were burned by the lightning, and a bellringer burned from the heavy fire. Everyone was terrified, and there was so much thunder that people expected the second coming of Christ. It was amazing: some died from the thunder, while others in the same places and in the same churches nonetheless survived. Scripture says concerning thunder and lightning, "From some collapsing clouds there may be lightning but this lightning will not harm but will pass over and be extinguished. But if the lightning strikes another cloud, then a flame like fire issues

69. The day of the Great Council: the first Sunday of Lent, now called "the Sunday of Orthodoxy" in commemoration of the restoration of the veneration of icons.

70. According to other sources, especially Rumanian chronicles, Gregory Tsamblak was excommunicated in 1415 by Patriarch Euthemius of Constantinople. Displeased with Vitovt's politics, Tsamblak left the west Russian land of Lithuania and settled in a Moldavian monastery, where he continued to write. Apparently, he died only in 1452. See a more detailed discussion in Iatsimirskii, A. I., *Grigorii Tsamblak*, St. Petersburg, 1904.

1420 forth which unites the lightning, descends and burns all whom it strikes." Unknown and indescribable is the power of thunder. And the power of God is indescribable. Some are terrified by it, some are struck to death, some are injured, and some turn from evil deeds unto repentance. Let us fear, tremble and decide to do good and to eschew evil! Let us love one another in the present and then in the future we will enjoy the Lord's blessing! All this was God's sign for Novgorod.

The same spring there was a conflagration in Novgorod the Great. The Sloven and the Carpenters' Sections burned, up to Fedor's Brook. Twenty-four churches were damaged by fire and the church of the Holy Fathers burned altogether. And a large amount of the Christians' wealth burned, and many people were drowned in the Volkhov river, while many others burned in the fire.

The same spring the Novgorodian posadnik, Ivan Bogdanovich, passed away after being tonsured a monk.

The same year the Norwegians came in ships and boats to fight the lands of Novgorod the Great, and they occupied the district of Arzuga in Karelia, captured people and burned property in the districts of the Volok land. Having perpetrated much evil, they returned home by sea.[71]

The same year Archbishop Simeon of Novgorod with his aides journeyed to the land of Karelia.

The same year Barlaam, Archimandrite of Iur'ev, built a stone church dedicated to the Nativity of Christ in the Iur'ev monastery in Great Novgorod.

The same year Abbot Theodosius in sixty days erected a stone church in Klopsk dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity.

The same year in August there arose an epidemic in Novgorod, Pskov, Torzhok, Tver' and in the entire Russian land.

[NEW PLAGUE IN RUSSIA]

In the September year 6928/1420. There was a widespread and very fearful plague in the entire Russian land, especially in the lands of Kostroma, of Iaroslavl', of Iur'iev, of Vladimir, of Suzdal', of Pereiaslavl', of Galich, of Rostov and around Ples. People died and grain remained unharvested in the abandoned fields. There was no one to harvest it. The fifteenth day of the same month of

71. In *Nik.* the Norwegians are called "Murmans." The Trans-Volok lands are between Lake Onega and the Dvina river.

September when the great martyr Nicetas is remembered it snowed for three days and three nights, and there were four feet of snow; the great freezes and cold began. Thereafter it was very warm and the snow disappeared but only a few managed to harvest the rye after the snow vanished. And so after this great plague there was starvation in the entire Russian land, and again people died from hunger. 1421

[NEW COINS IN NOVGOROD]

The same fall in October the men of Novgorod in Great Novgorod started using silver coins, and they were selling to the Germans [on the basis of] *artugas*.[72] They used *artugas* for nine years; and before the *artuga* they used the *kuna* [as a monetary unit]; and before the *kuna* they used squirrel and *kuna* furs.[73] The same fall in the month of November there was a strong and fearful plague in Pskov and Novgorod. The entire winter was very warm and throughout the Russian land there remained only a few people because of the plague and drought [*mezhenina*].

The same year Prince Svidrigailo Olgerdovich returned from the Hungarian land to live in the Lithuanian land.

In the year 6929/1421. There were heavy freezes in September, and on the fifteenth of the same month it started snowing, and it snowed for two days and two nights. Then a strong storm came up with great cold and fast freezes; thereafter the snow disappeared but very little rye was harvested. And then, again, it started snowing and became cold and there was famine in all the Russian land.

[NOVGOROD CONCLUDES PEACE WITH LIVONIA]

The same year [in the year 6928/1420 in *Novg.*] envoys came to Novgorod from the German [Livonian Order] Grand Master Sylvester: Gostilo, the Commander of Veliad; Timothy, the nephew of the Grand Master; Jeremiah, the chief of Rugodiv.[74] They came to Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich and agreed with him and with the men of Novgorod that there should be a meeting between

72. "Germans:" All Germanic-speaking peoples, including the Scandinavians, were called "Germans" ("*Nemtsy*") by the Russians.

73. *Artuga:* a small coin, from Old Swedish *ortogh*. *Kuna:* a marten pelt, used as a monetary unit. Squirrel and marten pelts were used all over Russia as trading or monetary units.

74. Rugodiv, now Narva, a city on the border of the Russian and Livonian lands. Veliad: now Viliandi, Fellin in German, a city in Estonia.

1421 Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich with the men of Novgorod and their Grand Master. Prince Konstantin sent Fedor Patrikeevich, the Grand Prince's namestnik, his own boyar, Andrei Konstantinovich, and the Novgorodian posadniks to the Germans. They met the Grand Master in Narva and agreed with him on perpetual peace as of old, as it used to be in the time of Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavovich [Nevskii] and Prince Iurii Danilovich [of Moscow].

[FLOOD IN NOVGOROD]

The same year in April in Novgorod the Great the water was high in the river Volkhov, and a flood destroyed twenty piers of the great bridge, and there were big storms. Many bridges and churches were destroyed to their foundations and because of the high water many people had to stay in the upper parts of their houses. Nineteen monasteries were flooded by the water and there was no service in them, and there was great grief because the people expected that such a flood would ensue as happened in the time of Noah, and this would occur because of our sins. The water rose up as far as the city gates of Prussian Street. If someone doubts this and thinks otherwise, then he should become acquainted with the old reports and read the old chronicles about what happened in Novgorod in the former years when there were such flooding and such great turbulence of the waves that the bridge's foundations were demolished. Such signs occur in all lands for our instruction so that we should eschew our evil deeds and learn the will of God and preserve His commandments. The wise man respects ancient writings, and the most wise Solomon said, "He is wise who is aware of the old writings and narratives." This flood occurred in the sixth year of the rule of Archbishop Simeon. Much evil befell the people and many persons were flooded, and their belongings and their cattle were carried off by the water.

[THE MOST TERRIFYING SIGN]

The same spring on the nineteenth day of the month of May, Sunday,[75] during the holiday of All Saints at midnight in Great Novgorod there was a tremendous vibration in the air. From the south an extremely large, dark cloud moved in with fearful thunder,

75. In the year 6929/1421, the nineteenth of May was Monday, not Sunday.

bolts of lightning flashed which could not even be gazed upon, and people expected to be burned up by this fire. The cloud passed over the city and it turned from rain to a fiery vision. People who thought that the fire would consume sinners took fright and started crying, "God have mercy upon us!" Many people prayed, gave their pledges to God and to His Pure Mother Theotokos and to all His saints. There came a heavy rain, thick hail, and stones appeared, falling from the cloud upon the ground. Archbishop Simeon with the entire Sacred Council and with God-fearing people went to the church of the Wisdom of God [Holy Sophia], fell prostrate, shed many tears from the depths of their hearts, and prayed, sighing; the priests celebrated in the other churches and the people prayed. Thus the night passed while they feared. Then day came and light shone. It was quiet and the fiery cloud became invisible. People recovered from their fright. Let us fear, hearing this terrifying narrative, and let us learn how to be good and how to preserve the Commandments of God so that we may be blessed! 1421

The same year Prince Konstantin Dmitrievich left Novgorod the Great for Moscow; and he was in Novgorod for the following reason: his brother, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, wanted to bring him to pledge on the cross to be second to his son, Prince Vasilii. But he did not want to be second to his nephew and went to Novgorod. For this reason Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, his brother, took away his patrimony, arrested his boyars, took away their lands and their possessions, and sent them in irons to various places.

The same year on the fifteenth day of the month of January Simeon, Lord Archbishop of Novgorod, passed away; he remained on the Archepiscopal See for five years and three months: altogether, six years less two months and four days.[76]

The same year Prince Iaroslav Vladimirovich, grandson of Andrei, great grandson of Ivan, returned from Lithuania to Moscow.[77]

The same year in Novgorod the Great there was a fratricidal feud and bloodshed. Two sections, Nerev and Sloven, rose up

76. Probably, five years and two months since his consecration, and five years, nine months and twenty-five days since his election by Novgorod.

77. Here is meant the son of the same Vladimir Andreevich who, with Dmitrii Donskoi, fought at Kulikovo in 1380.

1422 against Klementii Artemevich; everyone was in armour and they sacked his estate, as well as robbed the estates of the other boyars. They killed many people and slew twenty of Andrei's men, and others they drowned in the water. And fifteen men of the Nerev section were killed. Then they became quiet.

The same year there was a famine in Novgorod.

In the September year 6930/1422. Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich of Tver' arrested boyar Ivan Kumgan of Novo-Torzhok, as well as his son, Foma. [In 6929/1421 in *Novg.*] He commanded that they be beaten and imprisoned in Novyi Gorodok in the land of Tver'.

The same fall [In 6929/1421 in *Novg.*] the construction of two stone churches was completed in Novgorod. Isak Akimfovich completed the construction of the church of the Epiphany of Our Lord in the Monastery in the Fields; Vasilii Filipovich and Lukian Antsyforovich erected a church of the Transfiguration of the Lord. The same fall on the eighth day of September a *korkotnaia* plague[78] arose among the people and over the winter there was a bad famine.

The same fall on the thirtieth day of the month of November [In 6929/1421 in *Novg.*] the men of Novgorod elected by lots Abbot Theodosius of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Klopsk to be Archbishop. The same fall in the month of October the Novgorodians completed construction of the big bridge in Novgorod.

The same fall Princess Nastasia, [6929/1421 in *Sof.* and *Vozn.*] wife of Prince Iurii Dmitrievich, visited her father in Moscow; and then, one week before Christmas, she left Moscow.

The same winter [6929/21 in *Vozn.*] Prince Iurii Ivanovich of Tver' married the daughter of Ivan Dmitrievich [of Moscow].

[FAMINE IN RUSSIA]

The same year there was a bad famine in the entire Russian land and in the Novgorodian land; many people died from starvation and some left Russia for Lithuania, and they died on their way from hunger and cold because the winter was extremely cold. Others ate dead animals, horses, dogs, cats, moles and people even ate people. In Novgorod they put three common ossuaries [*skudelnitsy*] full of starved people. In Moscow people paid one and a half

78. *Korkotnaia* plague: a disease with convulsions.

rubles for an *oko* of rye.[79] In Kostroma they paid two rubles, and **1423**
in Nizhnii Novgorod they paid three rubles.[80]

The same year the Polish King Iagailo Olgerdovich and the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich campaigned against Marienburg of the Germans [Teutonian Order in Prussia].

The same year the Novgorodians pledged on the Cross that they would abide in unanimity among themselves.

The same year [6926/1418 in *Sof.*] on the eleventh day of the month of July Princess Anastasia, wife of Prince Iurii Dmitrievich, passed away in Zvenigorod. She was buried in the Church of the Ascension in Moscow. The same year on the eighteenth day of the month of August Moscow burned. The fire started at midnight and toward dawn it stopped.

The thirty-first day of the month of August Khan Barak defeated Khan Kuidadat.

In the September year 6931/1423. Khan Barak campaigned against Odoev. [In 6930/1422 in *Sof.*] He caused much evil but did not succeed in taking the city and escaped into the prairie with many captives. Prince Iurii Romanovich of Odoev and Grigorii Protasievich, voevoda of Mtsensk, caught him in the prairie and took back many captives.[81]

The same fall [6930/1422 in *Novg.*] in September the building of three stone churches was completed in Novgorod: one, of the Resurrection of Christ in St. Paul's monastery; one, of St. John the Merciful in Resurrection street in the Liudin end; and one, of the Resurrection of Christ, was built in the Assumption monastery by Davyd Dmitrievich.

The same winter Grand Princess Sofia, [6930/1422 in *Vozn.*] wife of Vasilii Dmitrievich [Grand Prince of Moscow], daughter of Vitovt, together with her son, Vasilii Vasilievich, visited her father, Vitovt, in Smolensk. Letting her go from Moscow, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich journeyed to Kolomna. Metropolitan Photius,

79. *Oko:* a weight unit equivalent to about three pounds, from Tatar *okka.*

80. "Three rubles": In *Nik., shti rublei.*

81. Odoev and Mtsensk: both cities are located southwest of Tula, Mtsensk on the upper Oka river, Odoev on the Upa river. In the fifteenth century they were frontier outposts adjacent to the prairie.

1424 Metropolitan of all Russia, also visited Vitovt and he went to him ahead of Grand Princess Sofia.

The same year there was a plague in the entire Russian land.

The same year the construction of two stone churches was completed in the Novgorodian land: one, of the Most Pure Theotokos in Kolmovo, and one of St. James in Luga.

[THE CASTING OUT OF ARCHBISHOP THEODOSIUS OF NOVGOROD]

The same fall [In 6930/1422 in *Novg.*] on the thirtieth day of the month of August the men of Novgorod cast out Theodosius, the Archbishop-elect from the lord bishop's estate. They had elected him by lots, and they brought him to the Lord Archbishops' estate. Then they were unwilling to have him, saying, "We do not want as bishop of Novgorod a *shestnik*—one who runs continually to the Prince's court."[82] And so they moved him to the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Klopsko after he had passed two years in the court of the Lord Archbishop. Then they elected as archbishop [In 6932/1424 in *Novg.*; 6933/1425 in *Sof.*] a certain Monk Emilian from the monastery of the Holy Resurrection in Derevianitsa.

[KHAN KUIDADAT'S RAID]

In the year 6932/1424. Khan Kuidadat marched with his army against Odoev, against Prince Iurii Romanovich of Odoev. When Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania received tidings of this he sent to Moscow to his son-in-law, Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, asking him for aid against Khan Kuidadat. He, himself, sent troops under Prince Andrei Mikhailovich, Prince Andrei Vsevolodich, Prince Ivan called "Baba," and his brother, Putiata—both princes of Drutsk—as well as Prince Dmitrii Vsevolodovich and Grigorii Protasievich, voevoda of Mtsensk. They marched together with Prince Iurii Romanovich of Odoev, pursued Khan Kuidadat, defeated his forces, captured two of his wives and sent one of them to Lithuania to Grand Prince Vitovt Keistutovich of Lithuania, and the other to Moscow, to Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich. Khan Kuidadat escaped, because the Muscovite forces did not reach [the battlefield]. At that time the Tatar *bogatyr,* Kogcha, who was very tall and stalwart of body, was killed.

82. *Shestnik:* a rare and antiquated term for an errand boy, servant. Dal', IV, 631.

The same year the men of Pskov summoned a *veché* in Pskov. **1425**
They minted silver coins and started using them. They gave up using fur [as a monetary unit].

The same year in Germany, in Lithuania, in Pskov, in Novgorod, in Tver', in Moscow and in the entire Russian land a plague began which struck the glands, and the people spat blood. The people died and there was grief and sorrow in all lands.

The same year the construction of two stone churches was completed in Novgorod: one, of St. Luke in Liubianitsa; and one, of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, in Khzeni.

The same year His Holiness, Metropolitan Photius, consecrated Monk Emilion Archbishop of Novgorod; and they gave him the ecclesiastic name of Euthymius in place of Emilion.

The same year the men of Novgorod built in one day behind the altar of the cathedral of Holy Sophia a church dedicated to the Holy Saviour.

[THE PASSING OF GRAND PRINCE VASILII DMITRIEVICH] [1425]

In the Year 6933 [1425]. Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich, grandson of Ivan, great grandson of Ivan, gr. gr. grandson of Daniil of Moscow, passed away on February 27, on Tuesday of the second week of Lent, at the third hour of the night, having ruled in the Grand Principality of Vladimir and Moscow for thirty-six years.[83]

83. These lines dealing with the death of Grand Prince Vasilii Dmitrievich are taken from Vol. XII, p. 1, of *PSRL* with the purpose of completing in the present book the reign of this Grand Prince.—*Ed.*